HARVARD UKRAINIAN STUDIES

Volume V Number 1 March 1981

Ukrainian Research Institute
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

ISSN 0363-5570

Published by the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University,
Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

Printed by the Harvard University Printing Office
Typography by Brevis Press, Cheshire, Conn.

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

DOCUMENTS

REVIEWS

CONTRIBUTORS

Ioli Kalavrezou-Maxeiner is assistant professor of art at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Dimitri Obolensky is professor of Russian and Balkan history at the University of Oxford.

Donald Ostrowski is a post-doctoral fellow at the Ukrainian Research Institute and the Russian Research Center of Harvard University.

Thomas T. Allsen is assistant professor of history at Trenton State College, New Jersey.

Paulina Lewin is a visiting scholar at the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University.

D. B. Saunders is lecturer in history at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, England.

John D. Klier is associate professor of history at Fort Hays State University, Kansas.

A. B. Pernal is associate professor of history at Brandon University, Manitoba, Canada.

A Church Slavonic Graffito in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople

IOLI KALAVREZOU-MAXEINER and DIMITRI OBOLENSKY

During the summer of 1969 Barbara H. Van Nice painstakingly recorded in tracings, photographs, and copies some 2,000 graffiti found in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. These graffiti have been scratched on the marble revetments and columns of the church during the past fourteen centuries. They are in a number of languages, reflect the diverse backgrounds of the building's visitors and, if studied together, would reveal an uncommon perspective on its history.

One of the graffiti is of particular interest, because it provides possible answers to two quite unrelated historical questions. The first involves the structural history of the systems of support for the building's main dome; the second concerns the extent of the jurisdiction of Gerasimos, metropolitan of Kiev (ca. 1433–1435).

The graffito is found in the western bay of the south gallery. It has been scratched on the northeast column approximately at eye level (1.64 m.) by a man who apparently was standing at the time. It is incised lightly into the Proconnesian marble and consists of a single line (0.52 m.; fig. 1, p. 6). The column is now partially embedded in fill that was added between the main southwest pier and the column, to increase the mass of the pier at gallery level. This fill and its marble revetment cover about two-thirds of the circumference of the column shaft, including the (now invisible) first word and part of the second word of the graffito. Thus the date of the graffito would provide a *terminus post quem* for this major alteration of the main piers, which resulted in the strengthening of the main supports of the dome at obviously weak points.

In its reconstructed form (fig. 2, p. 7), the graffito reads:

[*Gospodi pom*]*ozi rabu svoemu Iakovu Grigor'eviču, pisarju Gerasima mitropolita kiev'skago,* i.e., "Lord help Thy servant James, son of Gregory, scribe of Gerasimos, metropolitan of Kiev."



Fig. 1. Hagia Sophia: view of the southwest pier at gallery level, with arrow indicating location of graffito.

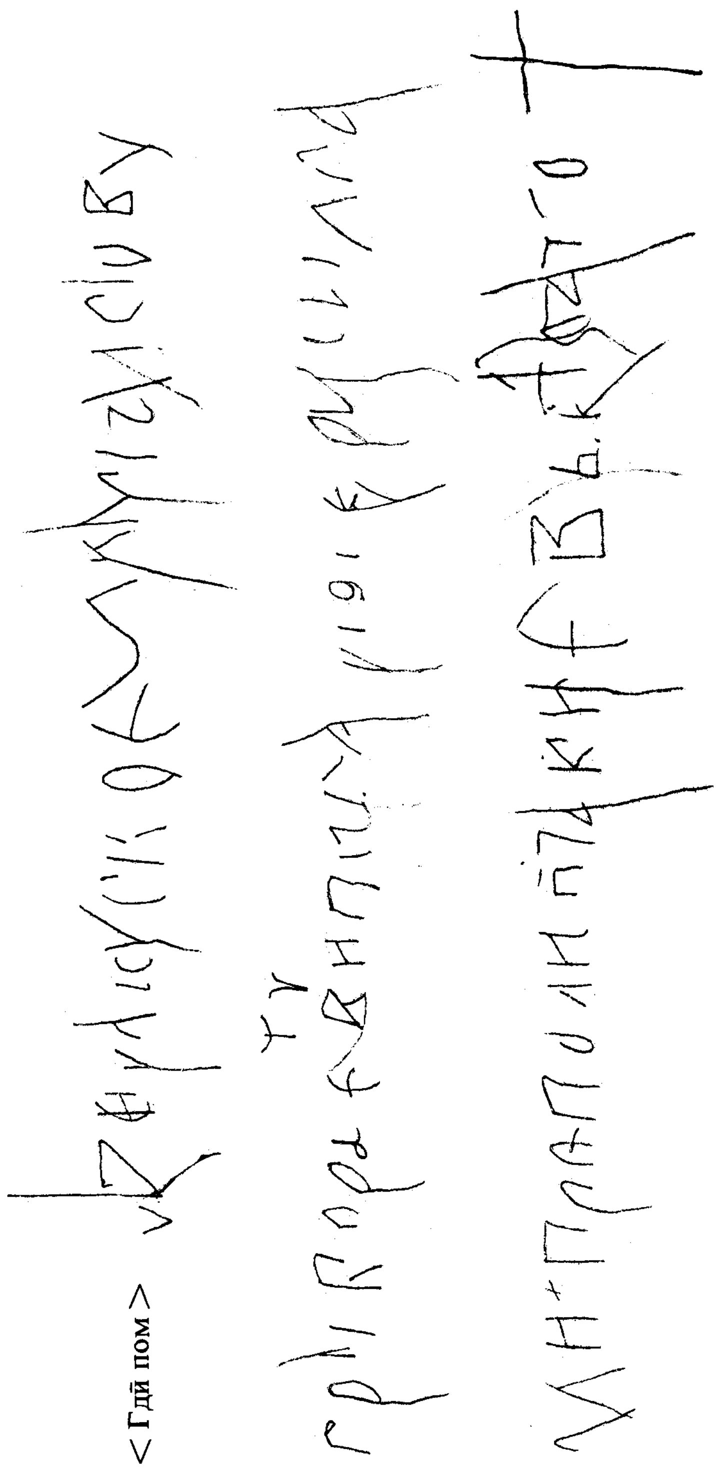


Fig. 2. Tracing of the graffito. [On the column, it is written in one continuous line.]

I

The date of the graffito can be determined fairly exactly from the facts of Gerasimos's biography. In 1432 this bishop of Smolensk, a city recently annexed to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, was sent by the Lithuanian grand duke Svidrigailo (Švitrigaila) to Constantinople, to be consecrated metropolitan. In the following year he returned from Constantinople to Smolensk, duly consecrated by Patriarch Joseph II. Gerasimos's tenure of the metropolitanate was brief: on 26 July 1435 he was arrested and burned at the stake in Vitebsk by order of Svidrigailo, on suspicion of treasonable relations with the latter's cousin and rival Sigismund, who had supplanted Svidrigailo as grand duke in Vilnius in 1432.[1]

It is hardly conceivable that Gerasimos's scribe or secretary would have had an opportunity to scratch his name on a column in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia unless he was there in attendance on his master. In the late Middle Ages this gallery was often used for meetings of synods.[2] Our graffito, whose initial words follow exactly the conventional beginning of Byzantine invocatory graffiti—Κύριε, βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ—can thus be dated between 1432, when Gerasimos arrived in Constantinople, and the autumn of 1433, when he returned to Smolensk; the most likely date, since the words were presumably scratched after Gerasimos's consecration, is the first half of 1433.[3] It is hardly likely that Metropolitan Gerasimos visited Constantinople again during the remaining two years of his life.

The date of the graffito suggests that the thickening of the piers, by filling in the formerly adjoining open bays, is most probably part of the structural work undertaken by Sinan in 1547. The construction of this filling of relatively small stones, with their joints marked by red paint, is similar to the filling used around the Byzantine windows in the tympana, which are now thought to be part of Sinan's complete consolidation.

II

What title and what jurisdiction were granted to Gerasimos by the Byzan-

[1] See M. Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusi*, vol. 4 (Kiev and Lviv, 1907), pp. 197–206; M. K. Liubavskii, *Ocherk istorii Litovsko-Russkogo gosudarstva*, 2nd ed. (Moscow, 1915), pp. 64–71; G. Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia* (New Haven, 1953), pp. 298–99.

[2] E. M. Antoniadis, Ἔκφρασις τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας, vol. 2 (Athens, 1908), pp. 322–23.

[3] Gerasimos is unlikely to have left for Constantinople later than 1 September 1432, the day when Svidrigailo, a victim of the coup d'état engineered by Sigismund, fled from Vilnius to Polotsk.

tine authorities? A number of historians have argued that he was appointed "metropolitan of Kiev and All Rus'" (μητροπολίτης Κυέβου καὶ πάσης Ῥωσίας).[4] Since the early fourteenth century holders of this title resided in Moscow and exercised, or at least claimed, spiritual jurisdiction over the Orthodox in Muscovy, Lithuania, and the Novgorodian lands. In recent times this was the case with the metropolitans Cyprian (1390–1406) and Photius (1408–1431). The primatial see fell vacant upon Photius's death in 1431 and—so runs the argument—the new metropolitan, Gerasimos, was unable to travel to Moscow because of the armed conflict (1433–1434) between the Muscovite ruler Basil II and Prince Iurii of Galich.[5]

This view rests on the evidence of three late medieval Russian sources: the Second Pskov Chronicle,[6] the Third Novgorod Chronicle,[7] and the Life of Euthymius, archbishop of Novgorod.[8] These documents state, or imply, that Gerasimos was given jurisdiction over the entire Rus' church.

In 1900 a lone voice was raised by the Russian church historian E. Golubinskii against this reading of the facts.[9] He argued that the Byzantine authorities, who were vitally concerned with maintaining good relations with the Muscovite ruler, would scarcely have risked jeopardizing them by appointing as primate of the Muscovite church a nominee of the grand duke of Lithuania, Moscow's traditional rival. Moreover, Golubinskii pointed out, the evidence of the above-mentioned Russian sources is suspect, for their aim is to eulogize Euthymius of Novgorod. This cleric, having fallen foul of the late Metropolitan Photius, took advantage of the vacancy in the see of Moscow to go to Smolensk, where he was consecrated in 1434 as archbishop of Novgorod by Metropolitan Gerasimos. Euthymius became a distinguished figure in the church of Novgorod, over which he presided for the next twenty-four years. His late-medieval panegyrists, faced with the blatant illegality of the Smolensk ceremony of 1434 (since only the metropolitan of "All Rus'" had the right to consecrate the

[4] They include S. M. Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen*, vol. 2 (reprinted Moscow, 1959), p. 577; A. A. Ammann, *Abriss der ostslawischen Kirchengeschichte* (Vienna, 1950), pp.127–29; A. V. Kartashev, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi tserkvi*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1959), pp. 348–49; Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, p. 308.
[5] On this conflict, see L. V. Cherepnin, *Obrazovanie russkogo tsentralizovannogo gosudarstva v XIV–XV vekakh* (Moscow, 1960), pp. 743–63.
[6] *Pskovskie letopisi*, vol. 2, ed. A. N. Nasonov (Moscow, 1955), pp. 43–44.
[7] *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei*, vol. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1841), p. 238.
[8] *Pamiatniki starinnoi russkoi literatury*, ed. G. Kushelev-Bezborodko, vol. 4 (St. Petersburg, 1862), pp. 18–19.
[9] E. Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Moscow, 1900), pp. 416–18. Cf. J. Raba, "Evfimij II., Erzbischof von Gross-Novgorod und Pskov. Ein Kirchenfürst als Leiter einer weltlichen Republik," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 25, no. 2 (1977): 161–73.

archbishop of Novgorod), attempted a cover-up by falsely claiming that Gerasimos was then the primate of the whole Rus' church. This cover-up has deceived a number of modern historians.

Our graffito, in which Gerasimos is described by his secretary as metropolitan of Kiev, decisively vindicates Golubinskii's view. The absence of the words "and of All Rus'" from Gerasimos's title (a cross at the end of the graffito indicates that nothing followed the word "kiev'skago") proves that he was appointed by the Byzantine authorities not as a metropolitan with his see in Moscow and with ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all the Orthodox of Rus', but as head of the Orthodox church of Rus' outside of the territory controlled by the Muscovite grand prince, that is, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Halych land. Such a metropolitan had the title "of Kiev" because Kiev, the traditional primatial see of the church of Rus', lay within the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at that time.

III

A final word about the circumstances in which the graffito may well have been scratched. The column with the graffito is just outside the marble barrier with its door that led into the middle section of the south gallery. This gallery, we have seen, was used for meetings of synods and other ecclesiastical gatherings.[10] It seems likely that James, Gerasimos's secretary, spent some time outside the door, waiting for the meeting to end. A very similar graffito, written half a century or so earlier by an official of another metropolitan of Kiev, Cyprian, has been found in the east bay of the south gallery, on the frame of a door that once led to an outside staircase.[11] The presence of these two graffiti in the south gallery brings to mind the hours, possibly long hours, which these two men spent waiting for their masters, the one inside and the other outside the enclosed area in which the synods took place.*

University of California, Los Angeles
University of Oxford

10 See fn. 2.

11 C. Mango, "A Russian Graffito in St. Sophia, Constantinople," *Slavic Word* 10 (1954): 436–38.

* We are grateful to the following for their help relating to this article: Professor Anthony Bryer, Dr. Paul Magdalino, Professor Cyril Mango, Professor Anne Pennington, Professor Ihor Ševčenko, Barbara Van Nice, and Robert Van Nice.

Textual Criticism and the *Povest' vremennykh let:* Some Theoretical Considerations

DONALD OSTROWSKI

A number of unresolved problems remain in the publication of the *Povest' vremennykh let* (*PVL*). Among the most serious are: (1) which manuscript copies to use as witnesses to the *PVL*; (2) whether to publish the *PVL* as a separate text or as part of another chronicle; (3) what principles of textual criticism to employ in editing the text; (4) which variants from other copies to put in the critical apparatus; and (5) whether to be content with a modified extant copy or to strive for a dynamic critical text. I will discuss each of these problems, suggest reasons why they are unresolved, and propose solutions that may be better than those implemented thus far.

The classicist E. J. Kenney remarked not long ago: "The very notion of textual exactness — let alone the possibility of achieving it — is for many people a difficult one, and respect for the precise form of a text even in a literate and cultured society cannot be taken for granted: the convention must be created."[1] An apt illustration of this statement is the publication history of the *PVL.* There is no more important source for early East Slavic history, yet no satisfactory edition of the *PVL* has been published. The editions published thus far do not follow clear or consistent principles of editing, nor are they based on sufficient textual evidence. Also, they are unreliable in reporting variants.

Conceptual problems of textual criticism arose in the various publications of the *PVL* and its main witnesses. The *PVL* was first published in 1767 as part of a faulty edition of the Radziwiłł Chronicle. Two other early attempts (in 1804 and 1812) to publish a chronicle containing the *PVL* were abandoned.[2] In 1846 Ia. I. Berednikov prepared the Lauren-

[1] E. J. Kenney, *The Classical Text: Aspects of Editing in the Age of the Printed Book* (Berkeley, 1974), pp. 23–24.

[2] See R. P. Dmitrieva, *Bibliografiia russkogo letopisaniia* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1962), p. 7 — no. 12, p. 16 — no. 61, p. 26 — no. 133; M. D. Priselkov, *Troitskaia letopis': Rekonstruktsiia teksta* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), pp. 11–14. By the term "main witnesses" I mean only those copies that have independent authority to testify about the archetype. Since most copies of the *PVL* (for example, the Nikon

tian Chronicle for volume one of *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* (*PSRL*).[3] Berednikov divided the text between the Nestor Chronicle (to 1110) and the Continuation of the Laurentian Chronicle (after 1110). He felt free to alter his copy text, the Laurentian copy (L), equally from each of the control texts, that is, the Radziwiłł (R), Academy (A), Hypatian (H), and Khlebnikov (Kh) copies. But he presented no principles for correcting the copy text according to the control texts. The resultant edition is a jumble that is not only difficult to disentangle, but contains many mistakes.

Subsequently, S. N. Palauzov prepared an edition of H in 1871 with Kh and the Pogodin copy (P) as control texts.[4] In conjunction with Palauzov's edition, A. F. Bychkov prepared an edition of L in 1872 with R and A as control texts.[5] Both Palauzov and Bychkov published continuous texts without division into *PVL* and non-*PVL* parts. Neither editor described his principles for altering the respective copy texts. Neither edition is reliable in reporting variants.

In 1871 and 1872, the publication of lithographic versions of the *PVL* portion of H and L, respectively, gave rise to another approach:[6] the publication of the *PVL* as a separate text, rather than as part of another chronicle. However, the lithographic versions did not require editing, except for deciding where the *PVL* ends. It is significant that the titles of both publications showed that they claimed to represent the *PVL*.

The approach of treating the *PVL* as a separate text was further developed by L. I. Leibovich in 1876 and A. A. Shakhmatov in 1916. Both editors attempted to publish composite versions of the *PVL* based on all the earliest witnesses,[7] and they adopted readings freely from the Laurentian and the Hypatian traditions. Neither attempt to reconstruct

---

Chronicle, Voskresenie Chronicle, etc.) are derivative from the main witnesses, I do not consider them here. To do so would needlessly complicate my line of argument.

3 *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* (hereafter *PSRL*), vol. 1, 1st ed. (St. Petersburg, 1846). Berednikov, who prepared the first edition of volume 2 of the *PSRL* (the Hypatian Chronicle), typically chose to begin the Hypatian with the entry for 1111, that is, with the part that does not coincide with the Laurentian Chronicle. *PSRL*, vol. 2, 1st ed. (St. Petersburg, 1843).

4 *Letopis' po Ipatskomu spisku* (St. Petersburg, 1871).

5 *Letopis' po Lavrentievskomu spisku* (St. Petersburg, 1872).

6 *Povest' vremennykh let po Ipatskomu spisku* (St. Petersburg, 1871); *Povest' vremennykh let po Lavrentievskomu spisku* (St. Petersburg, 1872). A photographic version of the Radziwiłł Chronicle (complete) was published as *Radzivilovskaia ili Kenigsbergskaia letopis'*, Obshchestvo liubitelei drevnerusskoi pis'mennosti, vol. 118 (St. Petersburg, 1902).

7 L. I. Leibovich, *Svodnaia letopis', sostavlennaia po vsem izdannym spiskam letopisi*, vol. 1: *Povest' vremennykh let* (St. Petersburg, 1876); A. A. Shakhmatov, *Povest' vremennykh let*, vol. 1: *Vvodnaia chast'. Tekst. Primechaniia* (Petrograd, 1916).

the *PVL* succeeded because each editor presented confusing and contradictory information about the interrelation of the early copies and their relationship to the archetype. In 1926 the Belorussian linguist E. F. Karski prepared a second edition of volume one (the Laurentian Chronicle) for the *PSRL*.[8] Karski maintained Berednikov's division of the text into *PVL* and non-*PVL* parts. Since he was publishing L rather than the *PVL* per se, Karski decided to follow Bychkov's policy and limit his control texts to R and A — that is, to those copies that stand closest to L. But this division created an ambiguity in what attested to the *PVL*. It could be interpreted that L, R, and A were the true witnesses to the *PVL*. This interpretation could be supported by Shakhmatov's decision, in publishing the second edition of volume two of the *PSRL* in 1908, to follow the procedure of Palauzov and *not* divide the text of H into *PVL* and non-*PVL* parts.[9] Also, Shakhmatov concluded that H represented a secondary redaction inferior to L.

In 1950 D. S. Likhachev published a new edition of the *PVL*.[10] Because of the two previous failures to compile a useable composite version and because of his distrust of "mechanistic textology,"[11] Likhachev adopted the procedure of Bychkov and Karski — that is, he used L as the copy text with alterations according to the control texts R and A. Likhachev's alterations of the text appear to be based on Bychkov's version published in 1872. For example, under the year 1093, which I selected at random, I found that Bychkov made eighty-five alterations in the copy text (and suggested three others). Of these, seventy were based on A and R, twelve were conjectures, and only three were based on H. Likhachev accepted seventy-one of Bychkov's eighty-five alterations, incorporated one of Bychkov's three suggestions, and added only one of his own. Likhachev used A and R for sixty-one alterations, seven were unattested, and five

[8] *PSRL*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Leningrad, 1926). Priselkov and Valk criticized Karski's edition for being difficult for historians to use because he did not expand abbreviations, modernize punctuation, or provide contemporary typeface. M. D. Priselkov, "Istoriia rukopisi Lavrent'evskoi letopisi i ee izdanii," *Uchenye zapiski Gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo instituta im. A. I. Gertsena* 19 (1939): 183; S. N. Valk, *Sovetskaia arkheografiia* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1948), pp. 135–37. This criticism is unjustified, since anyone who has worked with manuscripts should have no trouble reading Karski's text. Valk also objected to Karski's choice of control texts — i.e., R and A —because the Simeonov Chronicle, for one, is closer to L than either R or A. Valk's objection is valid, but inapplicable because the Simeonov Chronicle does not maintain the *PVL*.

[9] *PSRL*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg, 1908).

[10] *Povest' vremennykh let*, 2 vols. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950) (hereafter *PVL*, 1950).

[11] See the chapter entitled "Krizis literaturovedcheskoi mekhanicheskoi tekstologii," in D. S. Likhachev, *Tekstologiia na materiale russkoi literatury X–XVII vv.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1962), pp. 6–20.

were based on H. By comparison, Karski accepted only thirty-four of Bychkov's alterations and added none of his own. Of these alterations, thirty-three were based on A and R, while only one was based on H. These figures not only suggest a close connection between Bychkov's and Likhachev's texts, but also show that A and R were given priority over H as a basis for altering L.

The many efforts over a period of 175 years to publish the *PVL* adequately have failed to produce a single reliable publication. Even the three publications that have L as copy text and R and A as control texts do not report all the significant variants. A recent publication by Ludolf Müller,[12] for example, points out thousands of variants (many of them significant) in R and A that were either not reported or reported incorrectly in volume one of the *PSRL*. In fact, it is not clear on what basis variants have been included or excluded. Even today it is necessary to go back to the manuscripts or to the photographic reproduction of R in order to obtain any reliable evidence. Indeed, there is no separate publication or photographic reproduction of two of the main witnesses, A and Kh. Their readings appear only in lists of variants.

The first problem in publishing a satisfactory edition is the question of which manuscripts are to be used to determine the *PVL*. The titles of the various publications reflect the shifting positions on this question. Before 1871 the term "Povest' vremennykh let" was not used in any title. The 1846 edition of L used "Nestor Chronicle" to designate the *PVL* section of the text. In 1871 a lithograph of H was published under the title *Povest' vremennykh let po Ipatskomu spisku.* In 1876 Leibovich's composite version of the *PVL* used both L and H as witnesses. However, by 1908, Shakhmatov had relegated H to being representative of an inferior redaction. He published the text of H without the designation "Povest' vremennykh let," although he made free use of H in his composite version of the *PVL* in 1916. Then, Karski decided to accept Berednikov's division of the text of L into *PVL* and non-*PVL* parts, rather than Bychkov's continuous text policy. The result was that the Laurentian tradition appeared to represent the *PVL* whereas the Hypatian tradition did not. By 1950 Likhachev did not even represent the Hypatian line in his diagram showing the relations between the compilations that include the *PVL.*[13] In short, Likhachev merged the idea of publishing the *PVL* as a

[12] *Handbuch zur Nestorchronik,* ed. Ludolf Müller, vol. 2: *Textkritischer Apparat zur Nestorchronik,* comp. Leonore Scheffler, Forum Slavicum, vol. 49 (Munich, 1977).

[13] "Skhema vzaimootnosheniia osnovnykh letopisnykh svodov, vkliuchivshikh v svoi sostav 'Povest' vremennykh let,'" *PVL,* 1950, vol. 2, following p. 554.

separate text, as Leibovich and Shakhmatov had, with the method of publishing it as part of the Laurentian Chronicle, as Bychkov and Karski had. Since H and Kh have independent authority concerning readings in the *PVL*, ignoring them is not justified, as I will demonstrate below.

Another problem in publishing an adequate edition of the *PVL* is to determine the principles of textual criticism for editing a text. Here we can profitably make use of theory developed from the publication of ancient Greek and Latin texts, as well as Western medieval texts. The following discussion of fundamental principles may appear elementary to those who work with such texts, but it is exactly these principles that *PVL* editors have chosen to ignore. The first stage of textual criticism is gathering the copies and grouping them. The *PVL* falls into two groups or families — the Laurentian and Hypatian. But can we establish a more definite relationship among the copies? That is, can we establish and use a *stemma codicum*?

A stemma is a graphic representation of the relation of the extant copies to one another and of their hypothetical genealogical relationship to the archetype or author's original. The first stemma, as such, appeared in 1831.[14] The idea is inextricably linked, however, with the publication by Karl Lachmann of Lucretius's *De rerum natura* in 1850.[15] Although Lachmann did not actually draw a stemma, he described the principles of the genealogical method so clearly that he seemed to have resolved all the problems of textual criticism.

The basic idea of the genealogical method is that common errors or corrections that could not have been arrived at independently have a common source. Or as James Willis describes it, "if two people are found shot dead in the same house at the same time, it is indeed possible that they have been shot by different persons for different reasons, but it would be foolish to make that our initial assumption."[16] The expectation is that mistakes are passed on to other manuscripts from the one in which the mistake first appeared, that is, that scribes tended to add mistakes of

[14] Karl Gottlob Zumpt, "Prooemium," in *M. Tullii Ciceronis Verrinarum libri septem* (Berlin, 1831), p. xxxviii, fn. *.

[15] Karl Lachmann, "Commentarius," in *T. Lucretii Cari De rerum natura* (Berlin, 1850), pp. 3–15.

[16] James Willis, *Latin Textual Criticism* (Chicago, 1972), p. 14. Dom Quentin improved upon the concept of common error by pointing out that "error" carries the implication of not having occurred in the archetype. Since archetypes are as prone to errors as anything else, one should probably use a neutral term, such as "common variant." See Dom Henri Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate*, Collectanea Biblica Latina, vol. 6 (Paris, 1922), p. 231; and idem, *Essais de critique textuelle* (Paris, 1926), p. 37.

their own rather than to correct previous mistakes. In general, this expectation was valid, for most scribes were not well-educated. Also, their mistakes tend to be mechanical and easy to figure out. A. C. Clark praised such scribes: "In a copyist there is no more blessed quality than ignorance, and it is a commonplace, rather than a paradox, to say that the best manuscripts are those written by the most ignorant scribes."[17]

However, the fly in the ointment was the scribe who was not ignorant. He would freely make conjectures and, what is worse for the *stemma codicum*, he would compare two or more manuscripts and select randomly from each. This comparison, now called contamination or confluence, occurred frequently enough to shake confidence in the genealogical method. A. E. Housman, for example, eschewed the use of a stemma in his edition of Juvenal's *Satires*: "Authors like Juvenal, read and copied and quoted both in antiquity and in the middle ages, have no strictly separated families of MSS. Lections are bandied to and fro from one copy to another, and all the streams of tradition are united by canals."[18]

Then, a few years later, it appeared that the death blow was struck at the concept of the stemma by a critic of medieval French texts, Joseph Bédier. Bédier pointed out that almost all the stemmata he examined had only two branches. His argument ran:

> It is natural that time, which has respected 116 copies derived from the two copies w and z of the *Roman de la Rose*, should have maliciously destroyed all those which might have derived from a third copy; and it is natural also that the same accident should have repeated itself, in similar fashion, for the *Roman de Troie*; but that it should have repeated itself, in similar fashion... for all the romances of all the romancers, and for all the chronicles of all the chroniclers, and for all the moral tracts of all the moralists, and for all the collections of fables by all the fabulists, and for all the songs of all the song writers: there lies the marvel. One bipartite tree is in no way strange, but a grove of bipartite trees, a wood, a forest?[19]

[17] A. C. Clark, *Recent Developments in Textual Criticism* (Oxford, 1914), p. 21.
[18] A. E. Housman, *D. Iunii Iuvenalis Saturae* (London, 1905), p. xxiv. Housman was not categorically opposed to the use of a stemma; see, e.g., A. E. Housman, *M. Manilii Astronomicon*, bk. 2 (London, 1912), p. xxxii (a fuller explanation appears in the smaller edition: London, 1932, p. ix).
[19] Joseph Bédier, "La tradition manuscrite du *Lai de l'Ombre*: Réflexions sur l'art d'éditer les anciens textes," *Romania* 54 (1928): 172. In this article Bédier refers to 220 manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose* that Langlois classified. But in a subsequent separate publication of the article, the number "deux cent vingt" has been changed to "cent seize." Joseph Bédier, *La tradition manuscrite du Lai de l'Ombre: Réflexions sur l'art d'éditer les anciens textes* (Paris, 1929), p. 12. Although Langlois described over 200 manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose*, he seems to have in fact cataloged the readings from only 116 of them; Ernest Langlois, *Les manuscrits du Roman de la Rose: Description et classement*, Travaux et mémoires de l'Université de Lille, n.s. 7 (Lille and Paris, 1910), pp. 2, 238–39. For Bédier's earlier presentation of his

Attempts were made to defend this "law of bipartition" mathematically. For example, Paul Maas argued that of the twenty-two ways in which three texts could be arranged in relation to one another, only one involves a three-branch stemma.[20] Frederick Whitehead and Cedric E. Pickford published an article using the formula $\frac{(a+b+c)^n}{\Sigma^n}$ in which a, b, c represent the total number of members of a family of manuscripts, Σ represents the total number of manuscripts in all families, and n the number of extant manuscripts; the formula showed that a two-branch stemma is more likely to occur than a three-branch stemma.[21] However, these "proofs" succeeded only in telling critics what they already knew, not in explaining why the archetype or original of almost every text appeared to have been copied only twice. Clearly, to accept this nonsensical proposition was impossible. Textual criticism went into a period of crisis, so that by 1939 the medievalist Eugène Vinaver wrote:

> Recent studies in textual criticism mark the end of an age-long tradition. The ingenious technique of editing evolved by the great masters of the nineteenth century has become obsolete as Newton's physics, and the work of generations of critics has lost a good deal of its value. It is no longer possible to classify MSS on the basis of 'common errors'; genealogical 'stemmata' have fallen into discredit, and with them has vanished our faith in composite critical texts.[22]

But no new method came to the fore. The critic was supposed to choose

---

reasoning, see Joseph Bédier, *Le Lai de l'Ombre par Jean Renart* (Paris, 1913), pp. xxiii–xlv.

20 Paul Maas, "Leitfehler und stemmatische Typen," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 37 (1937): 289–94. The article was reproduced in subsequent editions of his *Textkritik*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1950), pp. 27–31; 3rd ed. (1957), pp. 27–31; 4th ed. (1960), pp. 26–30; and in Barbara Flower's English translation, *Textual Criticism* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 42–49.

21 F. Whitehead and C. E. Pickford, "The Two-Branch Stemma," *Bulletin bibliographique de la Société Internationale Arthurienne* 3 (1951): 83–90. See Edward B. Ham's critical dissection of their method in "Textual Criticism and Common Sense," *Romance Philology* 13 (1959): 207–209. Whitehead and Pickford subsequently restated their argument, without directly responding to Ham's criticism. See Frederick Whitehead and Cedric E. Pickford, "The Introduction to the *Lai de l'Ombre*: Sixty Years Later," *Romania* 94 (1973): 145–56 (reprinted as "The Introduction to the *Lai de l'Ombre*: Half a Century Later," in *Medieval Manuscripts and Textual Criticism*, ed. Christopher Kleinhenz, North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures [vol. 173] Essays; Texts, Textual Studies and Translations; Symposia, no. 4 [Chapel Hill, N.C., 1976], pp. 103–116) (hereafter *Medieval Manuscripts*). They do, however, make provocative reference to "uninstructed common-sense."

22 Eugène Vinaver, "Principles of Textual Emendation," in *Studies in French Language and Mediaeval Literature* (Manchester, 1939), p. 351 (reprinted in *Medieval Manuscripts*, pp. 139–59). Without overdrawing the parallel, I think it not inappropriate to point out that this reaction against the standard nineteenth-century method matches attitudes of pessimism, disillusionment, and revolt apparent in post-World War I literature, music, philosophy, art, chess, etc.

the "best" copy and edit it eclectically from other copies, an approach the biblical scholar E. K. Rand had called "a method of despair."[23]

The use of stemmata never fully died out because the stemma worked in many cases, even without adequate theoretical explanation for why it almost always had only two branches. The prevalence of the two-branch stemma may lie in that a stemma is a hypothetical construct. We know that the extant manuscripts of a given text are real, and we know that in most cases there must have been an author's original (holograph) or archetype. Between the archetype and extant copies we have only hypotheses and lost copies. But we should not confuse a hypothesis with a lost copy. In other words, the Greek sigla of a stemma do not necessarily represent lost copies, but instead may represent hypothetical stages in the transmission of the main text. In order to "locate" a reading in any hypothetical stage, we can use the method of triangulation, which requires readings from only two copies or branches. Given that figure (a) and figure (b) represent the reality of transmission for two different texts,

figure (a)

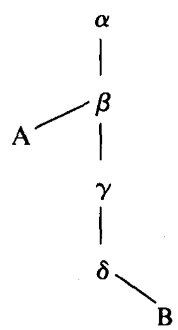
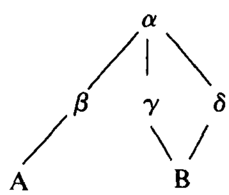
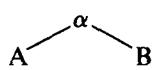


figure (b)



the textual critic can only represent their relationship hypothetically with figure (c), unless he has some good reason to propose an intervening

figure (c)



stage. Both A and B have independent authority for α no matter how many stages intervene. Ockham's razor applies here.

A stemma will work in cases where the transmission is closed or vertical, that is, where little or no confluence occurs among the copies. It will also work when the transmission is open, so long as the contamina-

[23] E. K. Rand, "Dom Quentin's Memoir on the Text of the Vulgate," *Harvard Theological Review* 17 (1924):204.

tion is not great. It will not work when the transmission is horizontal or wild, that is, where "all the streams of tradition are united by canals," as in the case of Juvenal's *Satires*, the plays of Aeschylus,[24] or the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius.[25] Otherwise, it will work as a tool if properly handled. A stemma is no substitute for thought. We set up a stemma on the basis of those significant readings of manuscripts that show clear primacy. In other words, we construct a stemma to demonstrate graphically the relationship of copies based on easily perceived primary and secondary readings. Then, it can be used to help determine the better reading in instances where primacy is not so clear. This example is from the chronicle entry for 1093 in the *PVL*:

RAHKh	L
He said, "I have about *eight hundred* of my men who can stand against them.". . . . But the thoughtful ones spoke: "Even if you had eight thousand, it would not be enough."	He said, "I have about *seven hundred* of my men who can stand against them.". . . . But the thoughtful ones spoke: "Even if you had eight thousand, it would not be enough."

From the sense of the passage it is clear that eight hundred is the preferred reading (unless the Rus' had a different sense of parallel construction) and that the scribe of L wrote *sem'sot* instead of *vosem'sot* (or *osem'sot*) because of a mishearing in either external or internal dictation.[26]

As soon as these significant readings yield a pattern, we can begin to construct a stemma. We soon discover that L is an unreliable copy not to be trusted in discrete readings (or *lectiones singulares*). It is remarkable that Bychkov, Karski, and Likhachev all persisted in maintaining the inferior reading "700," apparently for the sole reason that L has it. W. W. Greg calls such a phenomenon "the tyranny of the copy-text."[27] Many examples of the tyranny can be found in the editing of both classical and medieval texts. Another example might be the plight of the Balliol undergraduate who was reading aloud a borrowed essay on Greek playwrights:

24 R. D. Dawe, *The Collation and Investigation of Manuscripts of Aeschylus* (Cambridge, 1964), especially pp. 1–14.

25 Edward Schwartz, "Einleitung zum griechischen Text," in *Eusebius Werke*, vol. 2: *Die Kirchengeschichte*, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, vol. 9, pt. 3 (Leipzig, 1909), pp. cxliv–cxlvi.

26 Ihor Ševčenko has suggested a possibility I overlooked: a damaged manuscript might also explain the corruption — i.e., [во]семьсот → семьсот. This would be possible if the scribe of the exemplar had written the number out as in Kh, instead of providing a letter designation, e.g., ѿ as in AR or й сотъ as in H.

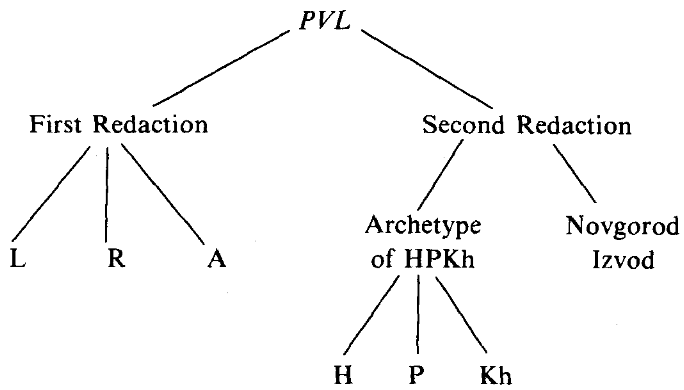
27 W. W. Greg, "The Rationale of Copy-Text," *Studies in Bibliography* 3 (1950–51): 26 (reprinted in *Bibliography and Textual Criticism: English and American Literature, 1700 to the Present*, ed. O. M. Brack, Jr. and Warner Barnes [Chicago, 1969], pp. 41–58).

when challenged by his tutor he protested, "it *says* Bophocles, Master!"[28]

Let us consider again the chronicle entry for 1093. Likhachev chooses to change the copy text according to R and A sixty-one times. We find that H and Kh are in agreement with thirty-four of these changes. That is, Likhachev changes L thirty-four times when it has a *lectio singularis.* The entry for 1093 has at least ninety-three other instances where the reading of L is a *lectio singularis* — that is, where all the other main witnesses are in agreement against it — but Likhachev does not change the copy text. On what basis can he alter L thirty-four times when a certain situation exists, but not ninety-three other times when that same situation exists? The only explanation is that he gives greater weight to L than to all the other copies combined. It is significant that Likhachev learned textual criticism during the time when Bédier's ideas of despair had their greatest popularity in the West. This may explain his unwillingness to use a stemma. However, since the transmission of the *PVL* appears to be closed, a stemma should apply.

A stemma to the *PVL* has already been attempted, but the results are only partially known. The Ukrainian scholar and textual critic S. A. Buhoslavs'kyj completed an edition of the *PVL* based on a stemma. But his version was never published.[29] Fortunately, some of the results are presented in a remarkable article he published in 1941.[30] There Buhoslavs'kyj provided this stemma:

Buhoslavs'kyj's Stemma



[28] Cited in Kenney, *Classical Text,* p. 23.

[29] N. K. Gudzii, "S. A. Bugoslavskii (Nekrolog)," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* (hereafter *TODRL*), 6 (1947):411. It would be helpful if Buhoslavs'kyj's version were located and published.

[30] S. A. Bugoslavskii (Buhoslavs'kyj), "'Povest' vremennykh let' (Spiski, redaktsii,

By examining the most obvious differences of the main witnesses of the *PVL* we can improve on this stemma. L, R, and A have similar entries that run through 1110;[31] therefore we can group those three together. In addition, L and those few readings of the Trinity copy (t) that are attested show a greater similarity between the two than with R and A,[32] which themselves seem to derive from a common ancestor.[33] H and Kh also derive from a common ancestor.[34] However, Kh has some contamination from an RA-type copy.[35] Therefore, one must be cautious about instances

---

pervonachal'nyi tekst)," *Starinnaia russkaia povest': Stat'i i issledovaniia,* ed. N. K. Gudzii (Moscow and Leningrad, 1941), pp. 7–37 (the stemma appears on p. 34). More recently Müller has drawn up a slightly different stemma. See Ludolf Müller, "Die 'dritte Redaktion' der sogenannten Nestorchronik," in *Festschrift für Margarete Woltner zum 70. Geburtstag,* ed. Peter Brang et al. (Heidelberg, 1967), p. 185; a simpler version of this stemma appeared in Müller, *Handbuch,* 2: iv. J.L.I. Fennell, in a review of the *Handbuch,* pointed out that this stemma could be used to determine "primacy of readings" (*Slavonic and East European Review* 57 [1979]: 124).

31 For lists of agreed readings of LRA against HKhP, see Bugoslavskii, "'Povest' vremennykh let,'" pp. 26–28. In another article I intend to go into greater detail about the significant readings among the copies, as well as the relationship of the *PVL* to the Novgorod I Chronicle.

32 For a brief discussion of this point, see A. A. Shakhmatov, *Obòzrenie russkikh letopisnykh svodov XIV–XVI vv.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1938), p. 40. Readings for t are taken from Priselkov's reconstruction of the Trinity Chronicle, which had been destroyed in the Moscow fire of 1812. Priselkov's reconstruction must be used cautiously because we do not know whether he always checked his readings against the manuscripts. For example, in the entry for 1064 Priselkov assigns the reading "Всеславъ же въ се лѣто рать почалъ." to t with the assertion that all the other copies arrange the phrase differently: *Troitskaia letopis',* p. 142, fn. 3. But R has exactly the same wording that Priselkov assigns to t: *Radzivilovskaia ili Kenigsbergskaia letopis',* fol. 95. This suggests that Priselkov relied on Bychkov or Karski, who do not report the variant wording in R: *Letopis' po Lavrentievskomu spisku,* p. 160; *PSRL,* 1 (1926): 164. It is interesting that Berednikov does report it: *PSRL,* 1 (1846): 71, variant *d.*

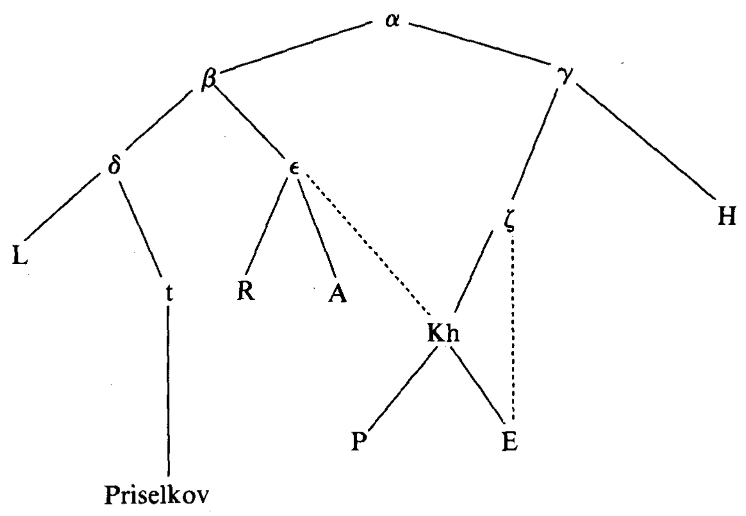
33 Cf. Shakhmatov, *Obozrenie,* pp. 44–45, 65–66.

34 Cf. Shakhmatov, *Obozrenie,* pp. 99–100, 103–104; Shakhmatov, *PVL,* pp. xliv–xlv, fn. 4.

35 See Shakhmatov, *Obozrenie,* pp. 106–107, where he cites examples of agreement among KhRA against LH. But he also cites examples of agreement between KhL against HRA (Shakhmatov, *Obozrenie,* pp. 104–105, 107–108; Shakhmatov, *PVL,* p. xlv). He concludes that contamination is due to the so-called Vladimir Polychronicus of the early fourteenth century, that is, to a common source for L, R, and A (Shakhmatov, *Obozrenie,* p. 105). However, elsewhere he suggests that the contamination may have come from the common source of R and A (A. A. Shakhmatov, "'Povest' vremennykh let' i ee istochniki," *TODRL* 4 [1940]: 18). I tend to accept the latter explanation because the agreements between Kh and L can be explained as coincidentals, e.g., скорописца instead of борзописца (898), перея славу/перея славъ (993), божественымъ/божественѣ (1015), имъже/иже (1051), etc. The only agreement Shakhmatov gives that could not be a coincidental — i.e., писмо/племя (1037) — turns out to be a typographical error, where the text reads писмо/писмя.

where Kh and RA appear to agree. The Ermolaev copy (E), on the whole, derives from Kh. But the scribe of E or of its exemplar used another Kh-type manuscript to make changes.[36] Therefore, in some places E can be used to support a reading of H against Kh. Similarly, P derives directly from Kh and can be used as a substitute where Kh has lacunae from folios lost after P was copied.[37] The following stemma represents these relationships:

Stemma for the Main Witnesses of the *PVL*



A = Academy
E = Ermolaev
H = Hypatian
Kh = Khlebnikov
L = Laurentian
P = Pogodin
R = Radziwiłł
t = Trinity
Priselkov = M. D. Priselkov's reconstruction of Trinity

36 A. A. Shakhmatov, "Predislovie," *PSRL*, 2 (1908): xv–xvi. Likhachev claims that E is a reworking of P: see D. S. Likhachev, *Russkie letopisi i ikh kul'turno-istoricheskoe znachenie* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1947), p. 431; *PVL*, 1950, 2: 159. But whenever Kh ≠ P then E follows Kh. See, e.g., the lacuna in Kh for 969–971 (*PSRL*, 2 [1908]: 56–58) where E also has a lacuna; and the lacuna in P for 1095–1096 (*PSRL*, 2 [1908]: 219–21) where E again follows Kh. Likhachev also states that E was used in the edition published in 1871, but that statement is a factual error.
37 Shakhmatov, "Predislovie," *PSRL*, 2 (1908): xii.

With this stemma in mind we can establish certain standard situations — that is, where certain copies agree (=) while others provide dissident readings — and the preferred reading in each case:

Choice of Readings for the *PVL*

where	*prefer*
1. L= R=A= H=Kh	LRAHKh
2. L≠ R=A= H=Kh	RAHKh
3. L≠ R≠A= H=Kh	AHKh
4. L≠ A≠R= H=Kh	RHKh
5. L= R≠A= H=Kh	AHKh
6. L= A≠R= H=Kh	RHKh
7. R= A≠L= H=Kh	LHKh
8. R≠ A≠L= H=Kh	LHKh
9. R≠ A=L= H=Kh	ALHKh
10. A≠ R=L= H=Kh	RLHKh
11. L= R=A= H≠Kh	LRAH
12. L≠ R=A= H≠Kh	RAH
13. L≠ R≠A= H≠Kh	AH
14. L≠ A≠R= H≠Kh	RH
15. L= R≠A= H≠Kh	AH
16. L= A≠R= H≠Kh	RH
17. R= A≠L= H≠Kh	LH
18. R≠ A≠L= H≠Kh	LH
19. R≠ A=L= H≠Kh	ALH
20. A≠ R=L= H≠Kh	RLH
21. L= R=A=Kh≠H	LRAKh
22. L≠ R=A=Kh≠H	RAKh
23. L≠ R≠A=Kh≠H	AKh } when not the result
24. L≠ A≠R=Kh≠H	RKh } of contamination
25. L= R≠A=Kh≠H	AKh
26. L= A≠R=Kh≠H	RKh
27. R= A≠L=Kh≠H	LKh
28. R≠ A≠L=Kh≠H	LKh
29. R≠ A=L=Kh≠H	ALKh
30. A≠ R=L=Kh≠H	RLKh
31. L= R=A≠ H=Kh	?
32. L≠ R=A≠ H=Kh	?
33. L≠ R=A≠ H≠Kh	?
34. L≠ A≠R≠ H=Kh	?
35. L≠ A≠R≠ H≠Kh	?
36. L= R≠A≠ H=Kh	?
37. L= R≠A≠ H≠Kh	?
38. L= A≠R≠ H=Kh	?
39. L= A≠R≠ H≠Kh	?
40. L≠Kh=R≠ A=H	?
41. L≠Kh=A≠ R=H	?

42. L=Kh≠A= R=H ?
43. L=Kh≠R≠ A=H ?
44. L=Kh≠A≠ R=H ? } if contamination
45. A≠Kh=R≠ L=H ? } is present, then LH
46. R≠Kh=A≠ L=H ?
47. L=Kh=R≠ A=H ?
48. L=Kh=A≠ R=H ?
49. A=Kh=R≠ L=H ? if contamination is present, then LH

Basically, when an agreement that is not a scribal coincidental occurs between any two or more separate family copies without any other agreement occurring between the other separate family copies, we should prefer the agreed reading. A problem arises when no agreement occurs between the families or one agreement is countered by another agreement between the families. Then we must start applying the principles of *selectio* that have been developed over the years — for example, *brevior lectio potior, difficilior lectio probior,* etc.[38] In general, we should choose the reading that explains the others. But also we should realize that each case contains its own characteristics and that these may override any given principle at any given time.[39]

As I pointed out above, the Hypatian tradition has been almost totally eliminated from editions of the *PVL*. Its omission is predicated on the argument that the Hypatian represents a second, inferior redaction, and that therefore readings from it should not be mixed with readings from the superior redaction. Is this line of argument justified? I think not. First, it is true that the Hypatian line shows clear signs of having been reworked.

[38] For various discussions of these principles, see Maas, *Textkritik*; Willis, *Latin Textual Criticism*; Bruce Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (New York and London, 1964), pp. 119–246; Giorgio Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, 1st ed. (Florence, 1934), 2nd ed. (1952); Alphonse Dain, *Les manuscrits*, 1st ed. (Paris, 1949), pp. 87–171, 2nd ed. (1964), pp. 95–186, 3rd ed. (1975), pp. 95–186; M. L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts* (Stuttgart, 1973).

[39] Housman compares a textual critic going about his business to a dog hunting for fleas: "If a dog hunted for fleas on mathematical principles, basing his researches on statistics of area and population, he would never catch a flea except by accident. They require to be treated as individuals; and every problem which presents itself to the textual critic must be regarded as possibly unique," A. E. Housman, "The Application of Thought to Textual Criticism," *Proceedings of the Classical Association* 18 (1921): 69 (reprinted in *A. E. Housman: Selected Prose*, ed. John Carter [Cambridge, 1961], pp. 131–50 and in *The Classical Papers of A. E. Housman*, ed. J. Diggle and F.R.D. Goodyear, vol. 3 [Cambridge, 1972], pp. 1058–69). In other words, we can accept, with qualification, Bentley's maxim: "with us, good Sense and the Reason of the Thing are of more Weight than a hundred *Copies*" (author's capitals and emphasis). Richard Bentley, *The Odes, Epodes, and Carmen Seculare of Horace* (London, 1712–14), pt. XVII, p. 16. See the comment concerning this statement by Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 153–54.

But most of the reworkings are in the nature of simple insertions and expansions of detail.[40] They are easily recognizable. Second, the reworkings do not, for the most part, affect the reliability of the Hypatian line as a witness to the archetype. In other words, the Hypatian line has independent authority. Why, then, has its reliable evidence been ignored?

The decision to eliminate one of two fairly equal traditions has been a common phenomenon in Western editorial practice. The idea is to simplify the decision-making process. The obvious error in this practice has been vividly depicted by Housman:

> An editor of no judgment, perpetually confronted with a couple of MSS to choose from, cannot but feel in every fibre of his being that he is a donkey between two bundles of hay. What shall he do?... He confusedly imagines that if one bundle of hay is removed he will cease to be a donkey. So he removes it. Are the two MSS equal, and do they bewilder him with their rival merit and exact from him at every other moment the novel and distressing effort of using his brains? Then he pretends that they are not equal: he calls one of these "the best MS," and to this he resigns the editorial functions which he is himself unable to discharge.[41]

Responding directly to Housman's comment (and to Rand's criticism of Bédier's "method of despair"), Likhachev charged that neither Housman nor Rand understood the concept of basic text (*osnovnoi tekst*), and that they confused the basic text with the source itself.[42] Furthermore, he stated in his edition of the *PVL*: "we print not a 'composite text' 'according to all copies' and not a hypothetical reconstruction of the original text but a text that really has reached us in the Laurentian Chronicle."[43]

Likhachev's statement can be objected to on at least three points. First, in matters of textual criticism it seems unlikely that Housman and Rand

[40] For a list of some of these alterations, see Bugoslavskii, "'Povest' vremennykh let,'" pp. 26–28; see also Shakhmatov, *Obozrenie*, pp. 93–94.

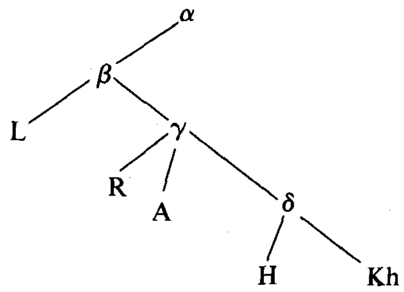
[41] Housman, *M. Manilii Astronomicon*, bk. 1 (London, 1903), p. xxxi. Housman elsewhere restated this idea more succinctly and with less rodomontade: "the indulgence for love for one manuscript and dislike for another inevitably begets indifference to the author himself." A. E. Housman, *M. Annaei Lucani Belli civilis* (Oxford, 1926), p. vi.

[42] Likhachev, *Tekstologiia*, pp. 495–96.

[43] *PVL*, 1950, vol. 2, p. 150. In places, he seems to have preferred published versions to the manuscript of L. For example, under the entry for 945, Likhachev claims that the word шить appears in L. But a check of the manuscript shows the word щить, which is correctly reported in Berednikov's and Bychkov's editions of L, whereas Karski reports шить. *PVL*, 1950, 1:39, and 2:187, fn. v,22; *PSRL*, 1 (1926):54; *PSRL* 1 (1846):23; *Letopis' po Lavrentievskomu spisku*, p. 53; *Povest' vremennykh let po Lavrentievskomu spisku*, fol. 14. Similarly Likhachev reports the spelling сладко for L under the entry for 986. This spelling appears in Berednikov's, Bychkov's and Karski's editions of L, but not in the manuscript, which has сладкое. *PVL*, 1950, 1:60; *PSRL*, 1 (1926):85; *PSRL*, 1 (1846):36; *Letopis' po Lavrentievskomu spisku*, p. 83; *Povest' vremennykh let po Lavrentievskomu spisku*, fol. 27v.

confused anything, let alone the base text with the source. Second, the numerous alterations that Likhachev made in the Laurentian copy belies the assertion that he printed "a text that really has reached us." Not only does Karski's edition better represent the text than Likhachev's, but also the lithographic version of 1872 is closer to the manuscript than either edition. And third, if we were to construct a stemma solely on the basis of Likhachev's preferred readings, we might come up with something like this:

Hypothetical Stemma for Likhachev's Edition



That is, in cases where L needs correction the γ reading is accepted. In the few cases when R and A do not represent γ, then the δ (i.e., H and Kh) reading is taken. Thus, the agreements of RAHKh could theoretically be assigned to γ, not β. And L becomes the single most important witness for α. Clearly this stemma distorts the relationship of the copies as shown by a comparison of all their readings.

It seems to me that the crux of the difference between Housman and Rand, on one side, and Likhachev, on the other, is the difference between the concept of a dynamic critical text and of a static critical text, and the question of when to use each concept.

The late Angiolo Danti wrote:

> there is a widespread disdain of the problems of textual criticism, because the literary text is considered as an objective and certain source, which the scholar must approach as found. This point of view is no longer acceptable.... a "critical" text cannot be considered "canonical," "definitive," or the fruit of a scientific process of a nomothetic kind. It is the fruit of a hypothesis based upon the entire series of data found in the manuscripts, and is recognized as reliable as long as that hypothesis is not substituted by a better conjecture.[44]

[44] A. Danti, "On a Dinamic [*sic*] Conception of Critical Texts," in *VIII Međunarodni slavistički kongres Zagreb 3–9. IX 1978. Ljubljana kniga referata* (Zagreb, 1978), p. 166. Asher states a similar idea: "the reconstruction of texts, i.e., the arrival at the

Danti's argument is acceptable only with the qualification that at times a static text based on an extant copy may be justified. Many medieval works have been relatively well transmitted through the manuscripts. For example, the recent discovery of the author's copy of the *Tale about Peter and Fevroniia* showed that no primary reading had been lost in the manuscript transmission.[45] Therefore, the choice of printing an extant copy with little or no alteration, as M. O. Skripil' had done previously, was the best decision.[46] The static text was justified.

However, many other medieval works and most classical texts have not been well transmitted. Classical texts often reached the Middle Ages in a trickle of a few copies or even only one faulty copy. Then the trickle turned into a torrent as texts were copied and recopied through the Renaissance.[47] The subsequent copies, however, were no better and often worse than the relatively late common ancestor. For textual critics to be satisfied with one of the subsequent copies or even the corrupt ancestor would be irresponsible. In the transmission of the *PVL* a similar situation prevails. None of the extant manuscripts adequately represents the *PVL* per se. A gap of over 250 years separates the presumed time of compilation from the earliest copy. Clearly we must attempt, through emendation, conjecture, and educated guess, to recover the author's text.

By using L as copy text and RA as control texts, we might come close to their common exemplar (β on our stemma), but we would have difficulty choosing between readings where RA oppose L. There would be a fifty-fifty chance of choosing the better reading, provided that we were not tyrannized by the copy text. But the resultant text would be midway between an extant copy and β.

I propose editing a dynamic critical text of the *PVL* on the basis of a hypothesis that is more in accord with the manuscript relationships than previous editions have been.

---

author's 'approved' or 'definitive' text must surely constitute the first and most fundamental step in all literary work whatsoever, classical, medieval, and modern. Literary criticism in the usual sense of the term is — at the best — an unsatisfactory exercise, and — at worst — an absurdity, if the text under discussion is itself corrupt. Not all scholars and students are aware of this obvious truth." J. A. Asher, "Truth and Fiction: The Text of Medieval Manuscripts," *Aumla* 25 (1966):8. And again Maas laconically: "Aufgabe der Textkritik ist Herstellung eines dem Autograph (Original) möglichst nahekommenden Textes (constitutio textus)." Maas, *Textkritik*, 4th ed. (1960), p. 5.

45 R. P. Dmitrieva, *Povest' o Petre i Fevronii* (Leningrad, 1979), pp. 105, 209–223.

46 M. O. Skripil', "Povest' o Petre i Fevronii (teksty)," *TODRL* 7 (1949):215–56.

47 See the description of this process by West, *Textual Criticism*, pp. 13–14.

To demonstrate clearly how this procedure would operate in practice we can analyze the heading for the *PVL*. This heading appears in each of the main witnesses as follows:

A	R	L
повесть	повесть	*се* повѣсти
временныхъ	временныхъ	времяньныхъ
лѣтъ *черноризца*	лѣтъ *черноризца*	лѣтъ, откуду
Феодосьева	*Феодосьева*	есть пошла
манастыря	*монастыря*	руская земя,
печерьскаго,	*печерьскаго,*	кто въ *Киевѣ*
откуда есть	откуда есть	*нача* первѣе
пошла рус	пошла русская	княжити, и
земля, и кто	земля, и кто	откуду
в ней почаль	в неи почаль	руская земля
первое	первое	стала есть.
княжити.	княжити.	

t	H	Kh
се повѣсти	повѣсть	повѣсти
временьныхъ	временныхъ	временныхъ
лѣтъ, откуду	лѣтъ	лѣтъ *Нестера*
есть пошла	*черноризца*	*черноризца*
руская земля,	*Федосьева*	*Феодосьева*
кто в ней	*манастыря*	*манастыря*
поча первое	*печерьскаго*	*печерьскаго*
княжити, и	откуду есть	откуду есть
откуду	пошла	пошла
руская земля	руская земля	руская земля
стала есть.	стала есть	и хто в ней
	[и хто в	почалъ первое
	ней почалъ	княжѣти и
	първѣе	откуду рускаа
	княжити].	земля стала
		есть.

[ ] = marginal gloss in a different hand

If the word се, which appears in L and t, was in α, β, and δ, one wonders why it was dropped in γ and ϵ. There is certainly no reason to think that it was dropped independently in R, A, H, and Kh. It is more likely that се was added in δ. The word Нестера was added in Kh, and thus cannot be used as evidence for the name of the compiler of the *PVL*.

The phrase черноризца Феодосьева монастыря печерьскаго, which appears in RAHKh, can be placed in α, β, γ, and ϵ, but not in δ, from which it was dropped. Haplography due to homoeoteleuton occurs in H

after the word земля. This was corrected with the marginal gloss: и хто в ней почалъ пѣрвѣе княжити. The reading в Киевѣ нача appears only in L; the phrase в ней поча(лъ) is in the other copies. Therefore, the mutation belongs not in δ but in L. This mutation is of special interest to us because it appears in the heading of all the published versions of the *PVL*, presumably for the sole reason that L has it. Clearly, the manuscript evidence testifies to в ней почалъ in α. Finally, AR drop the phrase и откуду руская земля стала есть, whereas it most likely appeared in α, β, γ, and δ. Therefore, the heading best attested by the manuscript is: Повѣсть временныхъ лѣтъ черноризца Феодосьева манастыря печерьскаго откуду есть пошла руская земля и кто в ней почалъ первѣе княжити и откуду руская земля стала есть.[48] Compare this *paradosis*, or best reading, with the heading given by Likhachev: Се повѣсти времяньных лѣтъ, откуду есть пошла руская земля кто въ Киевѣ нача первѣе княжити и откуду руская земля стала есть.[49]

How then should one proceed to edit the text? What criteria should be used to select a copy text? Or should there be a copy text at all? Should a composite version be compiled, as Shakhmatov and Leibovich tried to do? If the *PVL* were a wild or horizontally transmitted text, then a composite version, picking and choosing readings from here and there, would probably be the best solution. However, the *PVL* is a vertically transmitted text. Therefore, a copy text can and probably should be established, for this will eliminate much chaff and allow concentration of time and effort on the more significant cruxes. Likhachev seems to suggest that a copy text be chosen according to its better "composition" (*po sostavu*), which leaves the editor free to correct mechanical errors.[50] But this approach allows the copy text to rule over matters of meaning.

Greg provided a better solution. His recommendation concerns early published editions of Shakespeare's plays, but it can with equal validity be applied to the publication of manuscripts. Greg suggested that we make a distinction between substantive readings — that is, those "that affect the author's meaning or the essence of his expression" — and accidentals — "such . . . as spelling, punctuation, word-division" — which affect "mainly its formal presentation."[51] Greg pointed out that "it is only on grounds of expediency, and in consequence either of philological

[48] Buhoslavs'kyj came to a similar conclusion about the heading in 1941: Bugoslavskii, "'Povest' vremennykh let,'" p. 33. I arrived at this reading independently thirty-six years later.
[49] *PVL*, 1950, 1:9.
[50] D. S. Likhachev, *Tekstologiia: Kratkii ocherk* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1964), p. 86.
[51] Greg, "Rationale of Copy-Text," p. 21.

ignorance or of linguistic circumstances, that we select a particular original as our copy-text." Therefore, "it is only in the matter of accidentals that we are bound (within reason) to follow it, and that in respect of substantive readings we have exactly the same liberty (and obligation) of choice as has a classical editor. . . ."[52] In other words, "whenever there is more than one substantive text of comparable authority, then although it will . . . be necessary to choose one of them as copy-text, and to follow it in accidentals, this copy-text can be allowed no over-riding or even preponderant authority so far as substantive readings are concerned."[53] The copy text takes care of the accidentals and the editor takes care of the substantive readings.

Anyone who has worked with the manuscripts of the *PVL* realizes that L, although the earliest extant copy, is idiosyncratic in regard to accidentals. R and A are not much better, since they contain late fifteenth-century spellings. We must eliminate Kh because of its sixteenth-century spellings. But is H (around 1425) much of an improvement? Not really, due to its having been reworked. Yet most if not all of these reworkings have already been identified. If we were able to eliminate the reworked parts, then a fair copy of a good tradition would remain. If we were able to check the accidentals against the other copies in much the same way that substantive readings are compared, then a copy text might be based on H. The difference would be that in doubtful cases, the accidentals of the copy text would be left as they are. With substantive readings we would follow Greg's advice to edit the copy text as a classical editor should, that is, we would try to recover the original wording.

By establishing a copy text on this basis, we can also solve to a great extent the problem of a critical apparatus. Likhachev recorded variants only when he chose to alter the copy text. E. J. Kenney pointed out the anachronistic nature of such a procedure:

> The humanist style of collation, which persisted down to the time of Lipsius [1547–1606] and later, was unscientific because selective: the MSS were looked upon as a source of improvment for the *lectio recepta,* and their readings were recorded when they seemed to coincide with the critic's idea of what constituted an improvement, passed over in silence otherwise. Politian and other more reflective enquirers realized the importance of recording errors, in which the truth might be concealed. . . .[54]

Then what should a critical apparatus contain? The medievalist Ludwig

[52] Greg, "Rationale of Copy Text," p. 22.
[53] Greg, "Rationale of Copy-Text," p. 29.
[54] Kenney, *Classical Text,* pp. 59–60.

Bieler replied thus: "My answer is that it should contain all real variants of all constitutive witnesses, and a selection of others which illustrate the history of the text."[55] But what constitutes a "real variant?" Willis warns that "The primary purpose of the apparatus is to convey the truth; but an important secondary purpose is to be readily intelligible."[56] If every orthographic and paleographic peculiarity was included we would be marginally closer to the truth, but at the cost of losing almost all intelligibility from the variants.

Since the copy text will be taking care of the accidentals, for the most part, we can concentrate on providing all substantive readings from all the main witnesses to the *PVL*, as well as any accidentals that might have a substantive effect on the text. This will provide each reader with the information requisite to decide whether or not the editor made legitimate choices of preferred readings.

The creation of a dynamic critical text of the *PVL* based on all the main witnesses will benefit the study of early East Slavic history by bringing into question many of the long-accepted but inferior readings of previous editions. It will also open the door to re-editing other texts that are similar to the *PVL* in transmission, but which have been edited inadequately. Finally, it will provoke debate, discussion, and new thinking about this extraordinary historical and literary source.

Harvard University

[55] Ludwig Bieler, "The Grammarian's Craft: A Professional Talk," *Folia* 10 (1956): 30 (reprinted as *The Grammarian's Craft: An Introduction to Textual Criticism* [New York, 1965]).
[56] Willis, *Latin Textual Criticism*, p. 44.

Mongol Census Taking in Rus', 1245–1275*

THOMAS T. ALLSEN

Introduction

Because of its great size and cultural and ethnic diversity, the history of the "Empire of the Great Mongols" (*yeke Mangḥol ulus*) has been parceled out among various academic disciplines: sinologists study the Yüan dynasty, Islamicists the Īl-khāns, and historians of Eastern Europe the Golden Horde. To a large extent, this is a result of the language problem. Important data on the medieval Mongols are scattered throughout a wide variety of sources — Latin, Byzantine Greek, Old Rus', Arabic, Syriac, Persian, Armenian, Georgian, Chinese, Tibetan, Uighur, and Mongol, to name the most important. This compartmentalization of Mongol history, while inevitable and in some respects desirable, has had several unfortunate side effects. First, events in one area of the Mongol realm are often evaluated only in light of local conditions, when in fact they are connected with developments in other parts of the far-flung empire. Second, there is a pronounced tendency to view matters exclusively from the standpoint of the subject population. Mongol policies are frequently analyzed in terms of their impact on the Chinese or the Rus', but only rarely in terms of Mongol motives and goals.

Therefore, to gain a more balanced view of the Mongols and a clearer understanding of their place in world history, it is essential on occasion to look at events from the perspective of the empire as a whole and from the standpoint of the Mongols themselves. Such an approach, of course, has been advocated before. Omeljan Pritsak has argued convincingly that Moscow's relations with the Khanate of Kazan cannot be fully comprehended without detailed knowledge of cultural and political institutions "of the other side," i.e., the steppe peoples.[1] This "polycultural" approach, as I will try to show, is a particularly appropriate and profitable way of

* This article is dedicated to Basil Dmytryshyn of Portland State University, who so skillfully introduced me to the history of Eastern Europe.

[1] Omeljan Pritsak, "Moscow, the Golden Horde, and the Kazan Khanate from the Polycultural Point of View," *Slavic Review* 26 (1967): 577–83.

examining the Mongol census (*chislo*) in Rus' in the thirteenth century.

While the Mongols' registration efforts in Rus' often receive mention in works on the history of medieval Russia and the Golden Horde,[2] to the best of my knowledge no detailed study relating the *chislo*, in timing, technique and purpose, to the evolution of census taking in the Mongol empire as a whole has yet appeared.[3] Since the Mongol state in the period that concerns us embraced large parts of East and West Asia, and was institutionally indebted to many of its subject peoples, this attempt will necessitate brief excursions into Chinese and Islamic history, and in consequence, frequent references to Chinese and Persian historical sources. The advantages of employing such a procedure in this particular case are twofold. In the first place, the cryptic and often fragmentary data on Mongol census taking encountered in the Rus' chronicles become comprehensible or take on new meaning when aligned with related information drawn from documents and narratives originating in other parts of the empire. Second, the non-Rus' sources contain vital pieces of information on the preparation and management of the census in Rus' that are not found in the indigenous sources. In brief, the *chislo*, as well as other elements of Mongol policy in Rus', is not fully intelligible without a good knowledge of Mongol practices elsewhere in the empire, and without the aid of foreign, principally Oriental, sources.

The Evolution of Census Taking in the Mongol Empire

Census taking is an important instrument of social control and resource mobilization in modern nation states, and it was so in many pre-modern imperial regimes.[4] This is certainly true in the Mongol case, where pop-

2 See, among others, George Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia* (New Haven, 1953), pp. 214–33; A. N. Nasonov, *Mongoly i Rus'* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1940), pp. 9–23; V. V. Kargalov, *Vneshnepoliticheskie faktory razvitiia feodal'noi Rusi* (Moscow, 1967), pp. 147–67; and B. D. Grekov and A. Iu. Iakubovskii, *Zolotaia orda i ee padenie* (Moscow, 1950), pp. 218–24. Karl Wittfogel, in his article, "Russia and the East: A Comparison and Contrast," *Slavic Review* 22 (1963): 637–39, alludes to the censuses of 1257–59 and 1275 to support his thesis that an authoritarian form of government ("Oriental despotism," in the author's terms) was transferred from China to Rus' during the period when the Mongols dominated both countries.

3 My earlier remarks on this subject, s.v. "Chislo," in *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russia and Soviet History*, vol. 7 (Gulf Breeze, Fla., 1978), pp. 63–64, are brief and only hint at some of the ideas that are more fully developed in this paper. For a discussion of the census in post-Mongol Russia, see Henry L. Eaton, "Cadasters and Censuses of Muscovy," *Slavic Review* 26 (1967): 54–69.

4 For a discussion, see Karl Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism* (New Haven, 1957), pp. 50–52.

ulation registration was a key institution in the empire's efforts to regulate and exploit its subjects, whether nomads, agriculturists, or urban dwellers.

The first indication we have of Mongol interest in population registration comes soon after the proclamation of the empire in 1206, when Chinggis Khan ordered the Tatar foundling, Shigi Khutukhu, who was his kinsman by adoption, to assume control of the judicial affairs of the newly founded state and to supervise the apportionment of subject peoples among the imperial family. These matters, the emperor further ordered, were to be recorded fully and carefully in a book, the so-called "Blue Register" (*Köke debter* in Mongol and *ch'ing-ts'e* in Chinese), for future administrative use.[5] The apparent purpose of this directive was to establish precedents for legal decisions and, of more immediate concern to us, to maintain a record of the peoples and lands assigned to various Mongol princes and military commanders for their economic support (such grants were called *khubi* in Mongol and *fen-ti* in Chinese).

Evidence that such records were actually kept can be found in paragraph 222 of the *Secret History of the Mongols,* where it is reported that Chinggis Khan ordered "Degi, the shepherd, to assemble the *unregistered* and command them as [a military unit of] a thousand."[6] To judge from this passage, one of the principal uses of population registration in the early period of the empire was military recruitment. Since the Mongols as yet had few sedentary subjects, most of those carried on the rolls at this time must have been nomadic peoples. It was not until the reign of Ögödei (r. 1229–1241), Chinggis Khan's third son and chosen successor, that a systematic registration of the sedentary population of the empire was attempted.

The decision to institute a comprehensive survey of the population of North China, which had recently come under Mongol control, grew out of an acrimonious debate between Ögödei's Chinese advisers and the conservative Mongol element at court over the future direction of im-

5 On the "Blue Register," see paragraph 203 of the *Secret History of the Mongols,* translation in Erich Haenisch, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen* (Leipzig, 1948), pp. 92–93; Paul Pelliot, "Les *kökö däbter* et le *hou-k'eou ts'ing-ts'eu,*" *T'oung Pao* 27 (1930): 194–98; and Liu Ming-shu, "Yüan-tai chih hou-k'ou ch'ing-ts'e," *Chung-kuo wen-hua yen chiu hui k'an* 7 (1947): 101–106.

6 Italics are mine. In the Mongolian text the term for "unregistered" is *bukde'ül,* a word unattested elsewhere. Apparently it has the basic meaning of "concealment." The Chinese text of the *Secret History,* however, translates this word with the phrase "the people who are not entered in the register." See Kuo-yi Pao, *Studies on the Secret History of the Mongols,* Uralic and Altaic Series, vol. 58 (Bloomington, 1965), p. 22 (Mongolian text), p. 37 (English trans.), and p. 62, fn. 82.

perial policy. The leader of the latter faction, the extremist Begder, advocated exterminating or at least deporting all the inhabitants of North China and turning the vacated land into pasturage for the herds of the Mongol nomads! Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, a sinicized Khitan[7] who was the champion of Chinese interests and values at the imperial court, argued that in the long run a program of regular and equitable taxation would better serve the interests of the empire than the short-sighted and cruel measures espoused by Begder and his followers.

In pressing his argument on Ögödei, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai promised to produce 500,000 ounces of silver, 80,000 rolls of silk and 400,000 bushels of grain for the imperial treasury if his program were adopted. The emperor was impressed with Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's argument and allowed him to carry out his program on a trial basis. However, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai needed up-to-date census data to facilitate the assessment and collection of the proposed taxes. As no census had been taken in North China since 1206, the date of the last Chin dynasty registration,[8] Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai argued that a new one be initiated as soon as possible. A limited census was carried out in 1234, and in this same year Ögödei directed that plans for a more comprehensive survey of the population be prepared. This registration, supervised by Shigi Khutukhu, the custodian of the "Blue Register," was begun in 1235 and completed the following year.[9]

While the census was being carried out, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was able to institute some of his administrative and financial reforms. As a result of these measures, the revenue quotas promised by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai were met, and Ögödei, gratified with the increased income, made the Khitan his chief minister of state. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's triumph, however, was only a partial one. Although he succeeded in averting the worst possible alternative — the depopulation of North China — the reinstitution of the census did not lead, as he had hoped, to the restoration of a Chinese-style

[7] While not ethnically a Chinese, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai was clearly the spokesman of the Chinese faction at Ögödei's court. For a full discussion of his career and his debates with the conservative wing of the Mongol hierarchy, see Igor de Rachewiltz, 'Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, Buddhist Idealist and Confucian Statesman," in *Confucian Personalities*, ed. Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett (Stanford, 1962), pp. 189–216.

[8] The Chin dynasty, which controlled China north of the Yellow River from 1115–1234, was of non-Chinese, Tungusic origin. On the last Chin census see Ho Ping-ti, "An Estimate of the Total Population of Sung-Chin China," in *Etudes Song*, ser. 1, pt. 1, ed. François Aubin (n.p. [Mouton and Co.], 1970), pp. 34–45.

[9] Paul Ratchnevsky, "Sigi Qutuqu, ein mongolischer Gefolgsmann im 12.–13. Jahrhundert," *Central Asiatic Journal* 10 (1965): 108–11; and N. Ts. Munkuev, *Kitaiskii istochnik o pervykh mongol'skikh khanakh* (Moscow, 1965), pp. 43–47.

administrative order. For example, one of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's major goals was to reduce the power of the Mongol princes, who controlled large tracts of territory throughout North China. In point of fact, however, the census results were used by the imperial government not to limit, but to expand greatly, the system of assigned territories (*khubi*). According to one contemporary estimate, after 1236, when the expansion took place, nearly half of the Chinese population subject to Mongol rule came under the control of these princes.[10]

Thus, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's political and social reforms were not completely successful; but as a result of his efforts, the Mongols came to appreciate fully the potentialities of population registration as a means of extracting goods and services from their subjects. Thereafter, the orders of submission that the Mongols customarily sent to all foreign states they intended to attack always included a stipulation that the surrendering populace had to be counted.

The Chronology of Census Taking in Rus' and in the Mongol Empire

In this section I will survey the censuses taken by the Mongols in Rus' and, at the same time, try to show that the registrations within the confines of the Golden Horde were connected with similar endeavors throughout the Mongol empire. Since the Rus' sources are rather parochial in outlook, seldom straying beyond the bounds of Rus' and Eastern Europe, it is not at all apparent from them that the principalities of Rus' were part of a much larger political entity stretching from Korea to Asia Minor. We must, therefore, turn to Chinese, Persian, and Caucasian sources in order to establish the chronological and administrative links between the registration in Rus' and the rest of the Empire of the Great Mongols.

As Mongol rule was not firmly established in Rus' until the early 1240s, the registration initiated during Ögödei's reign (1229–1241) in North China had no counterpart in the Golden Horde. The first census in Rus' was not until 1245. The Sophia Chronicle records that in this year Batu, the founder of the Golden Horde, sent an emissary to Mikhail Vsevelodovich of Chernihiv, the ruler of Kiev, informing him that his subjects, who were scattered and in hiding, had to be registered preparatory to the

[10] *Yüan shih* (Peking, 1976), chap. 2, p. 35; and Su T'ien-chüeh, *Yüan wen-lei* (Taipei, 1967), chap. 57, pp. 16a–b.

imposition of tribute (*dan'*).[11] The Franciscan friar, John of Plano Carpini, who traveled through the Mongol realm in 1245–1247, also alludes to a Tatar census during his stay in Rus', but without mentioning the locality. This registration, according to the friar, was conducted by a "Saracen" and had as its aim military recruitment and the collection of tribute.[12]

These two reports are sometimes viewed as referring to the same event.[13] There are, however, chronological difficulties with this assumption. Carpini was in Rus' twice: once in the early months of 1246, when he first arrived in Mongol territory, and once in the late spring and early summer of 1247, after he had returned from Khara Khorum, the imperial capital in Mongolia, and was on his way back to Europe. The friar states that the census took place while he was in Rus', but he does not indicate during which of his two stays that was. Fortunately, however, Carpini himself provides the means for resolving this problem when he remarks that the census in question had been ordered by Cuyuc Chan (Güyüg Khaghan) and Bati (Batu). Since Güyüg, the eldest son of Ögödei, was not elevated to the office of grand khan of the Mongol empire until 24 August 1246 (an event which the friar witnessed personally),[14] it appears that Carpini meant his second stay (i.e., the summer of 1247). This follows from the fact that Güyüg and Batu were bitter personal and political rivals; it is hardly likely that the khan of the Golden Horde would have recognized the authority of his long-time antagonist on such a substantive matter prior to Güyüg's actual selection as grand khan, an eventuality that Batu had tried to forestall by all means at his disposal.

Evidently, then, the two sources refer to not one, but two distinct registrations. This being the case, the census of 1245 was most probably instituted by Batu on his own initiative for his own purposes; the census of 1247, on the other hand, was connected with registrations instituted in other parts of the empire on the authority of the grand khan. In China, for example, a census was carried out on Güyüg's orders in the fall of 1247,[15]

[11] Sophia I Chronicle, in *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* (hereafter *PSRL*), vol. 5 (St. Petersburg, 1851), pp. 182–83. Mikhail later was executed on orders of Batu. See Carpini's account of his death in Christopher Dawson, *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (New York, 1955), p. 10.

[12] Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, pp. 38–39.

[13] Grekov and Iakubovskii, *Zolotaia orda*, p. 218, fn. 1.

[14] Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, pp. 62–63.

[15] *Yüan shih*, chap. 2, p. 39.

and in Iran officials appointed to or confirmed in office by Güyüg conducted a census in the Caspian provinces in 1248.[16] Although resentful of Güyüg's rise to power and jealous of his own prerogatives, Batu nonetheless accepted the authority of the new grand khan and, as Carpini indicates, introduced a census in Rus' in the name of his rival.[17]

In any event, the enumeration of 1247 in Rus' was conducted on a fairly limited basis, as were all the registrations carried out during Güyüg's brief and ineffectual reign. It was not until the reign of Grand Khan Möngke (1251–1259) that a comprehensive census of the Golden Horde took place as part of the effort to register the population of the entire empire.

Möngke, the eldest son of Tolui, Chinggis Khan's youngest son, came to power with the support of Batu, the acknowledged leader of the line of Jochi.[18] Once on the throne, Möngke initiated an extensive purge of the dissident elements within the ruling family, particularly the Ögödeids, who claimed that the office of khaghan belonged to them exclusively. At the same time Möngke began to concentrate considerable political and administrative power in his own hands. After he had consolidated his hold on the throne, the new khaghan launched a series of major military campaigns in West Asia, southwestern China, and Korea which were designed to bring the known world under Mongol hegemony.

To sustain these large-scale campaigns, Möngke needed ready access to huge quantities of men, money, and materiel from the sedentary sector of the empire. To this end, in the fall of 1252 the emperor ordered that a new census be taken throughout the realm, and that following its completion new taxes be levied and new armies be raised.[19] This, of course, was an enormous and unprecedented undertaking, since the order meant that a goodly portion of the population of Eurasia had to be counted. But, as we shall see, the task was completed successfully by the end of Möngke's reign.

In China the "examination of the rise and fall of the population" took

[16] This is reported in the *History of Herat*, a Persian chronicle of the fourteenth century. See Sayf ibn Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb al-Harawī, *Ta'rīkh Nāma-i-Harāt*, ed. Muḥammad Zubayr aṣ Ṣiddīqī (Calcutta, 1944), p. 175.

[17] It should also be pointed out in this connection that Batu sent various princes of Rus' to Güyüg for their formal investiture as Mongol vassals, a further indication that he acknowledged, albeit reluctantly, Güyüg's authority as grand khan. See Vernadsky, *Mongols and Russia*, p. 147.

[18] Jochi (d. 1227) was Chinggis Khan's eldest son. To simplify matters somewhat, the lines of Jochi and Tolui were pitted against the lines of Ögödei and Chaghatai for control of the imperial throne.

[19] 'Atā-Malik Juvainī, *The History of the World Conqueror*, 2 vols., trans. John Andrew Boyle (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 2:598. Hereafter Juvainī/Boyle.

place in 1252.[20] Thereafter, registration and re-registration were more or less continuous. There are references to a census in 1255, and to others in 1257 and 1258.[21] The registration in West Asia was begun somewhat later, in 1254, and was completed for the most part in the following year. The areas covered at this time were Afghanistan, Iran, and the Transcaucasus. Iraq, too, was surveyed, but this had occurred toward the end of Möngke's reign, after the conquest of Baghdad (1258). All of the latter operations were under the control of the khaghan's chief official in West Asia, the Oyirad Mongol, Arghun Aqa.[22]

Preparations for the Golden Horde's part in this great enterprise commenced in the early months of 1253, when Möngke, according to the *Yüan shih,* "sent the secretary Pieh-erh-ko to determine the population of Rus' (Wo-lo-ssu)."[23] In the next several years, traffic between the Golden Horde, the imperial court, and Möngke's agents in the field intensified as arrangements were put in hand for the forthcoming registration.

In late 1253 or early 1254, Arghun Aqa, who had just organized the census in Iran, set out for the court of Batu on the Volga. The matters discussed on this occasion are not revealed in the sources, but the Persian historian Juvainī, an intimate of Arghun, relates that they "were transacted in accordance with Möngke Khagan's edict and [Arghun's] own improvisation."[24] When Arghun departed from Sarai, the capital of the Golden Horde, he conducted a census in Armenia in the company of one of Batu's men.[25] These data alone constitute grounds for associating Arghun's visit to Sarai with the proposed census in the Golden Horde; fortunately, however, direct testimony to this effect is available in *Kartlis-Tzkhovreba,* or the Georgian Annals.[26] This work, an eighteenth-century compilation based on much earlier sources, states specifically that Arghun Aqa participated in registration in the Golden Horde. While he did not conduct the census personally, as this source implies, there can be little doubt that he had a hand in the planning and organization of the enterprise.

[20] *Yüan wen-lei,* chap. 40, pp. 15b–16a. See also *Yüan shih,* chap. 3, p. 46.
[21] *Yüan shih,* chap. 3, p. 51; chap. 98, p. 2511; and chap. 160, p. 3762.
[22] Juvainī/Boyle, 2:517–21 and 525; and Kirakos Gandzaketsi, *Istoriia Armenii,* trans. L. A. Khanlarian (Moscow, 1976), pp. 221–22.
[23] *Yüan shih,* chap. 3, p. 46.
[24] Juvainī/Boyle, 2:521. See also Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Ghenghis Khan,* trans. John Andrew Boyle (New York, 1971), p. 231; hereafter Rashīd/Boyle.
[25] Kirakos, *Istoriia Armenii,* p. 221.
[26] M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie,* pt. 1: *Histoire ancienne jusque'au en 1468 J.C.* (St. Petersburg, 1850), p. 550.

In this same period the activities of Sartagh, Batu's eldest son, also appear to be connected with the preparations for the census. To fully appreciate the significance of his movements, it is necessary to describe briefly his role in the administration of the Jochid realm. Although the information is scanty, it seems probable that Batu named Sartagh as his successor in the late 1240s[27] and then placed him in charge of the lands of Rus'. After this time, decrees to the Slavic population are on occasion issued in the names of both Batu and Sartagh, as, for instance, when "governors" (*vlasteli*) were ordered to be placed in all the towns of Rus'.[28] Furthermore, from 1248 on, Rus' princes going to the *ordo*, i.e., the court of the Golden Horde, all conducted their business with, and received their investiture from, Sartagh.[29] Batu is infrequently mentioned in this connection.

The remarks of William of Rubruck, the Franciscan missionary, concerning the location of the camps of Batu and Sartagh provide additional evidence that Rus' had been entrusted to the latter, a Christian. Rubruck notes that Batu's *ordo* was on the eastern side of the Volga (Etilia) and that Sartagh's was on the western side. Because of this arrangement, he continues, Sartagh was "on the route of the Christians, that is to say, of the Rus', Blaci (Vlachs), the Bulgars of Lesser Bulgaria (i.e., those on the Danube), the people of Soldaia (in the Crimea), the Circassians, and the Alans, all of whom pass his way when going to his father's court."[30] In light of these data, it is highly significant that Sartagh, as the individual most directly concerned with the administration of the Christian population of the Golden Horde, traveled east to see Möngke shortly after Arghun Aqa left the Golden Horde for Armenia.[31] Again, there is no precise indication of the purpose of the visit, but the conviction that the forthcoming census was a major topic of conversation is hard to dismiss.

[27] The Hypatian Chronicle (*PSRL*, vol. 2 [St. Petersburg, 1843], p. 341) records under the year 1247 that "on [orders of] Bati, his son Sartak became tsar of the Tatars." Further, Rashīd al-Dīn speaks of Sartagh as Batu's heir-apparent at the time of Möngke's enthronement in 1251. See Rashīd/Boyle, p. 121.

[28] The Nikon Chronicle (*PSRL*, vol. 10 [St. Petersburg, 1885], p. 143) puts this event in 1262, a chronological impossibility since both Batu and Sartagh had been dead for at least five years by that time.

[29] See, for example, the Voskresensk Chronicle, *PSRL*, vol. 7 (St. Petersburg, 1856), p. 159; Hypatian Chronicle, *PSRL*, 2:341; and the Nikon Chronicle, *PSRL*, 10:137, for an enumeration of the Rus' princes visiting Sartagh in this period.

[30] Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, pp. 124 and 126.

[31] Sartagh left his *ordo* for Mongolia in the fall of 1254. See Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, p. 207; and Juvainī/Boyle, 1:268. Arghun Aqa departed from Iran for the lower Volga in late 1253 or early 1254. See above, fn. 24.

When Batu died sometime in 1255,[32] the news reached Sartagh while he was at the imperial court in Mongolia. Confirmed as the new ruler of the Golden Horde, Sartagh returned to the Volga, where shortly he in turn died. Ulaghchi (the Ulavchii of the Rus' chronicles), Sartagh's son, was then elevated to the throne on orders of Möngke, and an intensive period of meetings between the princes of Rus' and the new khan followed. Included in this round of talks were Grand Duke Andrei of Vladimir and Aleksander Nevskii.[33]

While these individuals journeyed to Sarai, another prince, Gleb Vasil'kovich of Rostov, went to see the "kaan," that is, Khaghan Möngke in Mongolia, and returned from his travels with a new wife, a Mongol princess.[34] The renewal of princely patents was no doubt part of the reason for these trips to court, which took place in 1256–1257, but the question of the census also played a role. This is evident from the fact that Andrei's domain, the province of Vladimir, was one of the first to be registered, and that Aleksander Nevskii, as will be related shortly, was deeply involved in the census in northern Rus'.

Lastly, there is the matter of the appointment of an imperial resident in Rus'. The *Yüan shih* reports that in 1257 the emperor "selected Kitai (Ch'i-tai) to be the *darughachi* (*ta-lu-hua-ch'ih*) of Rus' and Alania."[35] Not much is known about Kitai, except that he was a Khunggirat Mongol, a descendent of Dei Sechen (who was the father of Börte, Chinggis Khan's senior wife) and that Kitai's father, Nachin or Lachin, was an imperial son-in-law (*küregen*).[36] While information on Kitai's activities in the Golden Horde is lacking, it is most suggestive that chronologically, the date of his appointment to office and the date of the institution of the census in Rus' coincide exactly. The fact that one of the principal responsibilities of the *darughachi*[37] was to oversee the registration of the population further strengthens the argument that the two events were related.

[32] See Paul Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or* (Paris, 1950), p. 28, for a discussion of the date of Batu's death.

[33] Nikon Chronicle, *PSRL*, 10:140–41.

[34] Lvov Chronicle, *PSRL*, vol. 20 (St. Petersburg, 1910), p. 164.

[35] *Yüan shih*, chap. 3, p. 50, and chap. 63, p. 1570. Nasonov, *Mongoly i Rus'*, p. 14, was the first, to my knowledge, to point out the connection between Kitai's appointment and the introduction of the census in Rus'.

[36] Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh*, vol. 1, pt. 1, ed. A. A. Romaskevich et al. (Moscow, 1968), pp. 394–401.

[37] For the office of *darughachi*, see Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, vol. 1: *Mongolische Elemente* (Wiesbaden, 1963), pp. 319–23. In the Russian chronicles of this time, the term *basqaq*, the Turkish equivalent of *darughachi*, usually appears in place of the latter.

Following this series of contacts between the princes of Rus', the officials of the Golden Horde and the imperial court, the census finally began in Rus' in 1257. Some chronicles[38] mention Tatar census takers as early as 1255, but it appears that counting was not actually begun until two years later, a delay no doubt occasioned by the deaths of Batu and Sartagh. In any event, on orders of Ulaghchi, a census intended to encompass all the lands of Rus' commenced in 1257.[39] In the first year, Mongol officials in charge, called *chislenitsi* (literally, "counters") in the chronicles, registered the populations of Suzdal, Riazan, and Murom. In the following year they extended their activities to Vladimir.[40] The region of Novgorod was counted in 1259. Vernadsky states that western Rus' was surveyed in 1260 by the Mongol military commander Burunday (Boroldai), but he cites no source for this assertion. The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, moreover, makes no mention of a Mongol census at this time or later.[41]

While the Rus' chronicles note only the *chislo* instituted among the Slavic population, it is known from other sources that in actuality this registration embraced the whole of the Jochid realm. The Georgian Annals state that in addition to Rus', the enumeration in question was carried out in Khazaria (the Crimea), Oseth (Alania), Qipchaq, and in the "countries of the North," presumably a reference to the Jochid possessions in Siberia.[42] The latter source provides no further information on the registration in these areas, but we know from the *Yüan shih* that the enumeration of the Alans, or As (A-ssu), occurred at some time in 1253–1254,[43] a circumstance that further connects the mission of Arghun Aqa to Batu with the beginning of the census within the confines of the Golden Horde.

The date indicated in the *Yüan shih* for the census in the North Caucasus is consistent with other data found in the same source regarding the formation of Alan military units in the Far East. The biography of one Alan military officer, Nieh-ku-la (Nicholas?), states that he submitted along with others of his countrymen during Möngke's reign, and that he subsequently accompanied the emperor on the campaign in southwestern

38 Sophia I Chronicle, *PSRL*, 5:188.
39 Hypatian Chronicle, *PSRL*, 2:342.
40 Simeonov Chronicle, *PSRL*, vol. 18 (St. Petersburg, 1908), p. 71.
41 Vernadsky, *Mongols and Russia*, p. 215; and George Perfecky, *The Galician-Volynian Chronicle* (Munich, 1973), pp. 74–84.
42 Brosset, *Géorgie*, p. 550.
43 *Yüan shih*, chap. 63, p. 1570.

China in 1257–1259.[44] Since Nieh-ku-la and other Alans already had been formed into military units and transported to China by 1257, the year of the introduction of the census in Rus', they must have been conscripted, i.e., registered, several years prior to this time. Thus, on the basis of internal evidence, the date of the census in the Alan land (1253–1254) provided by the *Yüan shih* seems reliable.[45]

With respect to the *chislo* in Rus', only the census in Novgorod is reported in any detail.[46] The news of the impending registration reached northern Rus' in 1257 and had an unsettling effect on the populace. When the Tatar officials and their extensive entourages arrived in the winter of 1259, the agitation among the people increased to a point where the would-be census takers, led by two individuals named Berkai and Kasachik, began to fear for their lives. They demanded that Aleksander Nevskii provide for their security, which he did by assigning to them military contingents officered by local noblemen (boyars). The next day, the Tatar officials and their escorts, headed by Aleksander Nevskii, rode through the streets of Novgorod. Following this show of force, the lower classes, who had been in the forefront of the opposition, bowed to the Mongols' demands and the registration commenced. Upon completing their mission, the census takers departed in the company of their protector, Aleksander Nevskii.[47]

Two aspects of the census taking in the 1250s in the territory of the Golden Horde merit further consideration. First, on the basis of the dates given for the registration in various regions, it appears that the enumeration began in the southern portions of the Jochid realm, namely, the North Caucasus, in 1253 or 1254 and then slowly moved north, ending in

[44] *Yüan shih*, chap. 123, p. 3037. See also *Yüan shih*, chap. 135, pp. 3280–81, the biography of A-ta-ch'ih.

[45] Rubruck notes that in the fall of 1254 some Alans were still offering resistance to the Mongols. This may well have been provoked by conscription and deportation of the Alans following the census. See Dawson, *Mongol Mission*, p. 210.

[46] Novgorod I Chronicle, *PSRL*, vol. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1841), pp. 56–57; for a translation, see *The Chronicle of Novgorod*, trans. Robert Michell and Nevill Forbes (Hattiesburg, Miss., 1970), pp. 95–97.

[47] L. N. Gumilev, *Poiski vymyshlennogo Tsarstva: Legenda o gosudarstve Presbitera Ioanna* (Moscow, 1970), p. 202, argues that Berke, the brother of Batu and Ulaghchi's successor as khan of the Golden Horde, was behind this agitation because he wished to undercut the power of the grand khan's officials in his domain, but there is no evidence to support this contention. Furthermore, such a tactic seems unlikely, since it would have been a very dangerous game for Berke to play. A popular uprising against the khaghan's officials easily could have gotten out of hand and undermined the khan's own power.

Novgorod in 1259. The registration thus took approximately five or six years to complete, a longer period than in any other area of the empire. The length of time needed, as already suggested, was due in part to the deaths of Batu and Sartagh. Another reason that may account for this slow pace is that within the territories of the Golden Horde there was no counterpart to the pool of experienced administrative officials that was available locally in China and Iran. Given the extent of the Jochid lands, obtaining sufficient personnel must have presented a problem.

Another point is that the chief census taker in Novgorod, Berkai, bears the same name as Pieh-erh-ko, the official Möngke dispatched to Rus' in 1253 with orders to determine the size of the population. The suggestion, first offered by Emil Bretschneider,[48] that the Berkai of the Novgorod Chronicle is the same individual as the Pieh-erh-ko of the *Yüan shih* is a likely possibility, in my opinion. However, alternative interpretations have been offered.

Two Chinese historians, K'o Shao-min and T'u Chi, have put forward the hypothesis that Pieh-erh-ko should be identified with Berke (r. 1258–66), the brother of Batu, and Ulaghchi's successor as khan of the Golden Horde. While Pieh-erh-ko clearly transcribes the Mongolian word *berke* ("hard" or "firm"), the Chinese text does not speak of a "Khan or Prince Berke," but of a "secretary (*pi-she* = Mongolian *bichig*) Berke." The authors get around this problem by taking *pi-she* not as the title of Pieh-erh-ko, but as a transcription of the personal name of another individual, namely, the khan Batu![49] Such an identification, of course, is impossible on linguistic grounds. Unquestionably, *pi-she* is a truncated transcription of the common Mongolian title *bichigechi* (*pi-she-*[*chih*]), not the personal name "Batu."

The sinologist Paul Pelliot has interpreted this same passage in yet another way. He suggests that the *berkai* of the Rus' text and the *pieh-erh-ko* of the Chinese represent a title, not a name. *Pieh-erh-ko*, he claims, renders the Mongolian **berge*, a kind of tax collector, transcribed elsewhere in the Chinese sources as *pieh-li-ko*. Thus, in Pelliot's view, the *Yüan shih* text should not read the emperor "sent the secretary (*bichigechi*) Berke . . . ," as I have it, but rather, the emperor "sent a *bichigechi* and a *berge* . . . ," i.e., a secretary and a tax collector. The *berkai* of the Rus'

48 Emil Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches from East Asiatic Sources*, vol. 2 (London, 1967), p. 80, fn. 840.

49 K'o Shao-min, *Hsin Yüan shih*, Erh-shih-wu-shih ed., chap. 106, p. 106; and T'u Chi, *Meng-wu-erh shih-chi* (Taipei, 1962), chap. 6, p. 76.

chronicle, he asserts, represents a title that has been misunderstood as a man's name.[50]

Although Pelliot's authority in such matters usually stands high, his explanation in this instance is faulty. The reconstruction of *pieh-erh-ko/pieh-li-ko* as **berge* has been discarded. Most specialists now feel that this transcription actually answers to the Mongolian *belge*, an administrative term meaning "patent" or "document."[51] Since there is no such title as **berge* signifying a tax collector, the simplest explanation is that Pieh-erh-ko and Berkai are both transcriptions of the very common Mongolian personal name "Berke," which for sound historical reasons may in this particular instance refer to one and the same individual. This argument is on sound philological grounds, too, because the *Yüan shih*'s rendering of the names of Berke, the khan, and Berke, the census taker, correspond exactly. The same is true of the Rus' chronicles, in which the names of both individuals are transcribed as Berkai.

The next and, insofar as can be determined from the chronicles, last census by the Mongols in Rus' was taken in 1273 or 1275.[52] Little is known of this registration, but it appears to have covered the same territory — northern and eastern Rus' — as the census of 1257–1259. And like its predecessor, it was connected, at least chronologically, with similar endeavors in other parts of the Mongol realm. But before consideration can be given to the possible relationship between these various censuses, a brief sketch of the political evolution of the Mongol empire in the 1260s and 1270s is necessary.

When Möngke died in 1259, his brother Khubilai (r. 1260–1294) succeeded him as grand khan. Khubilai's claims on the throne were not, however, unchallenged. Another brother, Arigh Böke, also proclaimed himself khaghan, and his cause was embraced by Berke, the ruler of the Golden Horde. After some initial successes, Arigh Böke and his supporters suffered a series of setbacks, and in 1264 he was forced to recognize Khubilai's exclusive right to the khaghanate. Relations between Khubilai and Berke remained strained, however, and it was not until the reign of Berke's successor Mengü Temür (r. 1266–1280) that amicable relations between the Golden Horde and the Yüan dynasty were reestablished.

While Khubilai had managed to restore some semblance of unity in the

50 Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1959), p. 93.

51 Doerfer, *Mongolische Elemente*, pp. 216–17.

52 The Novgorod IV Chronicle, *PSRL*, vol. 4 (St. Petersburg, 1848), p. 42, gives 1273, while the Nikon Chronicle, *PSRL*, 10:152, gives 1275.

empire following the civil war of 1260–1264, his authority outside of China and Mongolia was somewhat tenuous.[53] The regional khanates still nominally acknowledged the supremacy of the grand khan, but Khubilai was no longer able to dictate policy throughout the entire Mongol domain. Nonetheless, we again find that registrations occurred in Iran and Rus' at about the same time a new census was instituted in China, i.e., the early 1270s.[54] Given the chronological relationship between the three censuses, the question naturally arises as to whether each was instituted independently or whether it was in some manner a cooperative undertaking.

No firm answer can be given, but I would like to suggest that while it is highly unlikely that the censuses in Iran and Rus' were conducted by agents of the grand khan, as was the case in Möngke's time, there is at least a likelihood that these registration efforts were connected. The census in China was ordered in 1270 on the eve of the final Mongol push against the Sung dynasty, which ruled the southern half of China. The Sung was a large and powerful state and the Mongols needed additional manpower to bring the campaign to a successful conclusion. It seems possible, therefore, that Khubilai, in addition to raising new armies locally, would have asked for assistance from the regional khanates,[55] and that the regimes in Iran and Rus', both of which were friendly with the grand khan, instituted new registrations to raise recruits for the Yüan dynasty. There is some evidence to suggest that Khubilai did, in fact, receive military assistance from other areas of the empire for his final assault on the Sung. At least, the Chinese sources indicate that new units of Alans and Muslim catapult operators were formed in China during the 1270s, and it is possible that some of the recruits were acquired from Mongol possessions beyond the Yüan frontiers.[56]

I am not suggesting that the registrations in Rus' and Iran came about solely as the result of a request of the grand khan — local interests and needs surely played an important role. However, I do propose that the

[53] For a brief account of Khubilai's relations with the regional khanates in Iran, Central Asia, and the Qipchaq steppe, see Peter Jackson, "The Accession of Qubilai Qa'an: A Re-examination," *Journal of the Anglo-Mongolia Society* 2, no. 1 (1975):1–10.

[54] For China, see *Yüan shih,* chap. 58, p. 1345; for West Asia, see A. G. Galstian, *Armianskie istochniki o mongolakh* (Moscow, 1962), p. 36, and Brosset, *Géorgie,* p. 591.

[55] In the early years of the empire, the regional khanates frequently supplied one another with recruits.

[56] Hsiao Ch'i-ch-ing, *The Military Establishment of the Yüan* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), pp. 97 and 175, fn. 61.

Yüan dynasty's manpower requirements supplied part of the impetus for a new round of population registration throughout the Mongol domains. A more complete explanation of this issue awaits a much needed examination of the overall relations between the Yüan dynasty and the three regional khanates.

The Technique of Mongol Census Taking

In the Rus' chronicles the census taken by the Mongols is always called *chislo*. Like its counterpart *shumāra* in Persian, the word *chislo* in Old Rus'ian had the basic meaning of "number." The Mongolian term for census is not known for sure, but it, too, seems to have been the word for "number" — *togha, to'a* or *to'o*. In several Mongolian texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, *togha* or its variants is used in connection with the counting of people, civilians as well as military personnel.[57] Those conducting the census are called *chislenitsi*, or "counters," in the Rus' sources; the Mongolian equivalent was undoubtedly *toghachi*, meaning "one who counts." Such officials are mentioned in the Persian sources of the Timurid era as the individuals in charge of mustering the army.[58]

Above the counters who did the actual enumerating, there were various other officials charged with the overall direction of the census. Juvainī reports that in Möngke's time, "for the purpose of . . . registering the names of the people, [the emperor] appointed governors (*hākimān*), residents (*shanagān* — the arabo-persian equivalent of *darughachi*) and secretaries (*kitāba*)."[59] Local rulers and regional khans in all areas of the empire — China, Rus', and the Transcaucasus — were required to provide whatever additional support, whether administrative or military,

[57] See the *Secret History of the Mongols*, paragraphs 175 and 191, translated in Haenisch, *Geheime Geschichte*, pp. 65 and 77–78; and Antoine Mostaert, *Le material mongol du 'Houa i i iu' de Houng-ou (1389)*, ed. Igor de Rachewiltz, Mélange chinois et bouddhiques, vol. 18 (Brussels, 1977), pp. 63–64. In the Tibetan documents of the Mongol period, the Tibetan word for "number" also is used to denote a census. See Yu. N. Rerikh, "Mongol-Tibetan Relations in the 13th and 14th Centuries," *Tibet Society Bulletin* 6 (1973): 48.

[58] The term *toghachin* (the plural form) is found in a *jarligh* of the Chaghatai khan Yisün Temür (r. 1338–39), dated 1338. See Michael Weiers, "Mongolische Reisebegleitschreiben aus Čayatai," *Zentralasiatische Studien* 1 (1967): 16 and 19–20. See also Doerfer, *Mongolische Elemente*, pp. 260–64.

[59] 'Alā al-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik-i Juwaynī, *Ta'rīkh-i Jahān-gushā*, 3 vols., ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad Qazvīnī, E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series, vol. 16 (London, 1912–37), 3: 72; hereafter Juvainī/Qazvīnī. Also Juvainī/Boyle, 2: 596.

necessary to fulfill the khaghan's directive. In the case of Rus', it will be remembered, Aleksander Nevskii was called upon to guarantee the safety of the Tatar census takers in Novgorod.

For the census in West Asia, Möngke assigned separate teams of officials to survey the population of various provinces. On each counting team there were representatives (*nökör*) of both the grand khan and the local Mongol khan to ensure that the interests of each were protected.[60] In this connection it is interesting to recall that the Novgorod Chronicle mentions two chief census takers in its account of the *chislo* in northern Rus': Berkai and Kasachik. Nothing is known of the latter, but it is quite conceivable that if, as seems likely, Berkai was an agent of the grand khan Möngke, then Kasachik was the representative of the khan of the Golden Horde, who at the time of the registration in Novgorod was Berke, the successor of Ulaghchi. Although no direct evidence supports this argument, it is certainly consistent with the pattern of operation followed by the Mongols elsewhere in the empire, particularly in Iran.

The data collected in the course of registering the population were "inscribed on the books."[61] Of the internal arrangement of the registers (i.e., the *köke debter*) nothing is known. Most probably they were kept in Mongolian or Uighur Turkic, and duplicate copies were no doubt prepared so that the data would be available for the use of the local Mongol ruler as well as for the imperial administration in Khara Khorum. Upon completion of the census in a specific region, the results were immediately dispatched to the Mongol court, often in the hands of the officials who had carried out the enumeration. This practice was followed in Iran, and the Rus' sources also report that the Tatar census takers "returned to the *ordo*" after finishing their mission.[62]

It is not difficult to see why the Mongol leadership insisted that the census rolls be treated in this fashion. So long as the population figures in their possession were up-to-date and accurate, there was little opportunity for local officials and rulers to withhold monies or men from the imperial government or the regional khanates. With current data on hand, the Mongol leadership was able to make a fairly accurate estimate of the amount of revenues and number of conscripts they could expect from a given province or vassal state. Local interests could still (and no

60 Juvainī/Boyle, 2:517–21.

61 Robert P. Blake and Richard N. Frye, "The History of the Nation of Archers (The Mongols) by Grigor of Akanc'," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12 (1949):325.

62 Simeonov Chronicle, *PSRL,* 18:71. For Iran, see Sayf, *Ta'rīkh Nāma-i-Harāt,* p. 249.

doubt did) line their pockets to a certain extent, but no major deception was possible under these conditions.

The basic unit of accounting was the household, as can be seen from the population figures given in the *Yüan shih,* which are always presented in this fashion. The same procedure was used in the territory of the Golden Horde. In the Novgorod Chronicle's account of the census we read: "And the accursed ones [i.e., the Tatar officials] began to ride through the streets, writing down the houses of the Christians [i.e., the Rus']."[63] The adoption of this method of calculation, while conforming to standard Chinese practice, also continued the Mongol tradition of expressing the size of a nomadic community or tribe in terms of the number of tents.[64]

Because the census was the principal mechanism by which the populace's obligations to the state were assigned, it is not surprising that individuals attempted to evade registration whenever possible. As noted previously, the Sophia Chronicle records that when the census of 1245 was ordered, many of the inhabitants of Kiev were in hiding.[65] To discourage attempts at evasion, the Mongols imposed harsh penalties, including execution, upon those caught fleeing or hiding from the census takers.[66]

The only group exempted from inclusion on the census rolls was the clergy. Not being registered, these individuals were freed from tax, corvée, and military obligations to the state. The exemption not only applied to all major religions of the empire — Islam, Buddhism, and Christianity — but to certain other categories of "learned men" as well, e.g., the adherents of Confucianism. This blanket immunity was first proclaimed by Chinggis Khan and subsequently reaffirmed by all of his immediate successors.[67] The Rus' chronicles specifically mention that this provision was in force in Rus' during the censuses of 1257–59 and 1273–75. In each case it is noted that the Tatars "counted everyone except priests, monks, and all the clergy."[68]

63 Novgorod I Chronicle, *PSRL,* 3:57; and Michell and Forbes, *Chronicle of Novgorod,* p. 97.

64 Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh,* vol. 1, ed. B. Karīmī (Tehran, 1338/1959), p. 175.

65 See above, fn. 11. Cf. also Juvainī/Boyle, 1:33–34.

66 Blake and Frye, "Nation of Archers," p. 325.

67 See the edict of Bayantu Khaghan, a Yüan ruler of the early fourteenth century, available in Nicholas Poppe, *The Mongolian Monuments in ḥP'agspa Script* (Wiesbaden, 1957), p. 49.

68 Simeonov Chronicle, *PSRL,* 18:71; and the Nikon Chronicle, *PSRL,* 10:152. By "everyone" I understand the text to mean all those counted as part of a household. Cf. also Kirakos, *Istoriia Armenii,* p. 222; and Brosset, *Géorgie,* p. 552.

The Rus' chronicles record that the registrations of 1257, 1258, and 1259 were all conducted in winter (the season in which the census of 1273–75 was conducted is not reported). So far as I am able to determine, this was the procedure in China and Iran, as well.[69] The most obvious reason for preferring winter as the time of registration for agrarian societies is that it was the slack season; an enumeration then would not disrupt essential field work that might impede production and in turn limit the peasants' ability to pay taxes. A further advantage of a winter registration was that a greater percentage of the populace would be at home during this season, thereby facilitating the work of the census takers and enabling them to compile more complete population rolls.

Purpose of the Census

During the reigns of Ögödei and Möngke, the Mongols evolved a set of demands that all "surrendering states" (*il irgen*) were compelled to accept to avoid destruction. The terms of surrender, which were always presented to "rebellious states" (*bulgha irgen*) in the form of orders of submission, constitute, in effect, the basic Mongol blueprint for governing and exploiting a newly conquered territory.[70] Such orders normally included the following stipulations: (1) the local ruler was to come personally to court to acknowledge Mongol sovereignty; (2) close relatives of the ruler, sons or brothers, were to be offered as hostages; (3) the population was to be registered; (4) taxes were to be sent in; (5) military units were to be raised; (6) postal relay stations, *jam*s, were to be established; and (7) a Mongol-appointed resident, *darughachi,* was to take charge of all affairs.[71]

In many respects, population registration was the key element among the instructions sent to surrendering states. In the broadest sense, the census was an inventory of the talent and wealth of the empire, the means by which skilled craftsmen were identified and economic resources surveyed. This larger goal is reflected in a statement in the Georgian Annals that Arghun Aqa, the governor of Iran, recorded everything "from men to

[69] The dates of the census in East and West Asia are not always given with precision, but late fall or winter seems to be the usual starting time for population registration.
[70] For the term *il* and *bulgha irgen,* see A. Mostaert and Francis W. Cleaves, "Trois documents mongols des Archives secrétes Vaticanes," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 15 (1952):485–95.
[71] *Yüan shih,* chap. 209, p. 4635; and W. E. Henthorn, *Korea: The Mongol Invasions* (Leiden, 1963), p. 194.

animals, from cultivated fields to vineyards, from gardens to orchards."[72] In the view of the Mongols, the surrender of a foreign state was not just an admission of military defeat and political subordination, but a pledge that the surrendering state would actively support the empire in its plans for further conquest. To discharge this pledge, the surrendering state had to place its entire resources — human, material, and economic — at the disposal of the empire. Since a census was needed to effectively identify and utilize such resources, the Mongols came to consider submission and acceptance of the census as synonymous acts.

The orders of submission that the Mongols directed to the principalities of Rus' have not survived, but the Rus' chronicles and the *jarligh*s issued by the khans of the Golden Horde make it clear that the demands placed upon the Slavic population of the Golden Horde were essentially the same as those borne by the subjects of other Mongol khanates. The *jarligh* that Mengü Temür issued to the Rus' metropolitan in 1267 shows that the revenue system of the Jochid realm, like those of the Yüan dynasty and the Īl-khāns, was based on three major tax categories — a poll tax, an agricultural levy, and an impost on trade and commerce.[73] The poll tax, or tribute (*khubchiri* in Mongolian; *dan'* in Old Rus'ian), as we know from the Persian sources, was assessed and collected on the basis of the census.[74]

The census served, too, as the principal means of apportioning corvée obligations among the population.[75] One of the most onerous of these was connected with maintaining the postal relay stations (*jam*s), and in general catering to the needs of officials traveling on behalf of the government. The *jarligh* of Mengü Temür enumerates the *jam* as one of the obligations falling on the general populace, from which the clergy, however, were freed (see above, fn. 73)

Military recruitment was also intimately tied to population registration. The chronicles tell us that the census takers were responsible for forming the populace into *desiatki* ("tens), *sotni* ("hundreds"), *tysiachi* ("thousands") and *t'my* ("ten thousands").[76] These divisions functioned as military formations as well as administrative units. In other words,

[72] Brosset, *Géorgie*, p. 551.
[73] *Pamiatniki russkogo prava*, vol. 3 (Moscow, 1955), p. 467. For the Mongol revenue system in general, see John Masson Smith, "Mongol and Nomadic Taxation," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 30 (1970):48–85.
[74] Juvainī/Boyle, 2:524.
[75] Juvainī/Boyle, 1:32–33.
[76] Tver Chronicle, *PSRL*, vol. 15, pp. 395–96; and Simeonov Chronicle, *PSRL*, vol. 18, p. 71.

they were a means both of social control and of manpower mobilization.

The number of *t'my* (which answers to the Mongolian *tümen*, also "ten thousand") formed in Rus' in the thirteenth century is not explicitly stated, but Vernadsky estimates that as of 1275 there were twenty-seven in eastern Rus' (roughly the territory registered in 1257–1259) and an additional sixteen in western Rus'.[77] This brings up the question of the actual size of the *tümen*, since Vernadsky has used these military–administrative units as a basis for estimating the size of the total population of Rus'.[78] His formula for estimating the population is as follows: each *t'ma* had to supply 10,000 adult males for military service; therefore, if the total number of *t'my* can be ascertained, then a reasonably accurate estimate of the adult male population can be made (on the assumption, of course, that nearly all males were conscripted). Once this figure is established, the total population can be inferred.

From the above, it can be seen that the final product of this method of calculation rests on several assumptions, such as the percentage of adult males drafted and the number of men in a *t'ma*. Here, I will deal only with the latter supposition, namely, that each *t'ma*, or unit of 10,000, actually contained a corresponding number of troops.[79] No figures on the size of the *t'ma* in Rus' are available from contemporary sources, but if standards elsewhere in the empire are any guide, the *tümen*, even in time of war, was always far below its nominal strength of 10,000. This situation was so chronic in China that the Yüan government classified their *tümen* (Chinese *wan-hu*, literally "ten thousand households") into three categories: an upper, with a minimum of 7,000 troops; a middle, with a minimum of 5,000; and a lower, with a minimum of only 3,000.[80] In light of these figures, population estimates based on the assumption that a *tümen* actually contained 10,000 adult males are apt to be far too high. Again, this points up the advantage of approaching Mongol history through a variety of sources.

[77] Vernadsky, *Mongols and Russia*, pp. 215–19.

[78] A similar procedure has been adopted by N. Ts. Munkuev, "Zametki o drevnikh mongolakh," in *Tataro-mongoly v Azii i Evrope* (Moscow, 1970), p. 367, for estimating the population of Mongolia in Chinggis Khan's time.

[79] John Masson Smith, like Vernadsky, also assumes that the Mongol *tümen* was normally at full strength, but fails to adduce any convincing evidence that this was the case. The available evidence, as we shall see below, directly contradicts Smith's circumstantial arguments that *tümen* of 10,000 men were the norm. See Smith's interesting article, "Mongol Manpower and Persian Population," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 18 (1975):271–99, especially 279–81.

[80] Hsiao, *Military Establishment of the Yüan*, pp. 170–71, fn. 27.

Conclusions

The major censuses in Rus' all coincide chronologically with similar registrations in China and Iran. The first two, those of 1247 and 1257–59, were carried out on orders of the grand khan in Mongolia and were conducted in part by his agents. A connection between the various registrations of the 1270s cannot be established with any certainty, but it is nevertheless possible that they represented a cooperative effort on the part of the increasingly autonomous regional khanates.

The methods employed in taking the census in Rus' followed a pattern originally evolved in East Asia. The Mongols learned both the technique and the utility of population registration from the Chinese, for whom it long had been a standard administrative tool. Once convinced of its benefits, the Mongols instituted the census throughout their extensive domains on a regular basis.

Population registration was but one aspect of the "Mongol system" of governance,[81] the basic components of which were applied in China, Central Asia, Iran, and Rus'. In many respects, however, census taking became the keystone of the system, since it was the means by which the population was controlled and the mechanism by which resources were identified and mobilized — resources that were needed to fuel the Mongols' massive campaigns of conquest.

In closing, I stress one final point. The fact that the Mongols made such a heavy administrative investment in population registration during the reigns of Ögödei, Möngke, and Khubilai is a good indicator of the basic orientation of their political and economic policies. Census taking on this vast scale is the clearest evidence we have that in this era imperial policy was geared towards long-term, systematic exploitation of the subject populace, and not towards the short-term, one-time-only benefits of massive pillaging, an activity with which we most usually associate the Tatars.

I hope that this paper has not only thrown some light on one facet of the complex relations between the Mongols and Rus' — the *chislo* — but, of equal importance, that it has demonstrated the feasibility of studying the Mongol empire in its entirety and the advantages to be gained from a holistic approach to its history.

Trenton State College, New Jersey

[81] In reality, this "Mongol system" was an amalgam of many traditions — Chinese, Uighur, Muslim, and nomadic.

The Ukrainian School Theater in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: An Expression of the Baroque

PAULINA LEWIN

What form of the Baroque did the Ukrainian school theater take? The scholarly literature suggests that it was patterned after the so-called Jesuit Baroque. But that attribution is not altogether suitable, as this study is intended to show.

The Ukrainian school system of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries followed the Jesuit programs in many things, including theatrical performances. But these schools were created chiefly to combat Roman Catholic interference in the religious, cultural, and political life of the Ukraine. The theological thinking of Ukrainian professors and their students had to be, and was, Orthodox. True, some of these individuals were influenced by Catholicism or Protestantism, and some oscillated between Orthodoxy and the Uniate church. Many were multilingual erudites, well acquainted with Catholic theology and works by Catholic writers in Latin, Polish, and Italian. But the Orthodox clergymen and professors in the Ukrainian schools were, of necessity, well read in the abundant church writings of their own faith. It was that intellectual and theological background that made them more responsive to the Baroque than to the Renaissance.

What did the Ukrainian scholars inherit from the Church Slavonic tradition? As the meticulous studies by V. Adrianova-Peretc, D.Čyževs'kyj and D. Lixačev show,[1] the language of East Slavic Orthodox writings of the Middle Ages employed metaphors more than any other kind of

[1] V. Adrianova-Peretc, *Očerk poètičeskogo stilja drevnej Rusi* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1947); D. Čyževs'kyj (Tschižewskij), *Das heilige Russland: Russische Geistesgeschichte I, 10.-17. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg, 1959); idem, *History of Russian Literature from the Eleventh Century to the End of the Baroque* (The Hague, 1962); D. Lixačev, *Poètika drevnerusskoj literatury* (Leningrad, 1967); idem, *Razvitie russkoj literatury X–XVII vekov: Èpoxi i stili* (Leningrad, 1973).

tropes, and did so in a great variety of ways. Moreover, the East Slavic Orthodox "learned men" (*knyžnyky*) had a strong sense of the symbolic content of words and images. They inherited this way of thinking and this understanding of written and declaimed words from Byzantine and Church Slavonic traditions—that is, from Scripture, writings by the church fathers, liturgical texts and rites, hymnology, sermons, Lives of the saints, etc. Adrianova-Peretc shows that Byzantine church writings contain a greater number of metaphors than early Christian ones. Their lavish use illustrates the writer's ability to handle the form. Their secondary meanings, which serve as comparable aspects, are often so removed from the primary ones that the connection is difficult to grasp,[2] as the next few examples show.

East Slavic learned readers and church and refectory audiences became acquainted with metaphors and symbolic language through three channels: (1) the *tolkovania* (interpretations, commentaries, exegesis) of the Scripture; (2) the *Physiologus*, a translated collection of short tales about real and fantastic animals with symbolic commentaries based on Christian doctrine; (3) the catechized (structured as questions and answers) *Besědy svjatytelej* (Talks of godly men), where the questions were enigmatic and riddlelike, and the answers were built on analogies, symbolic resemblances, and symbolic correspondences.

In 1073 a book of miscellanies called *Izbornik* was copied from the Bulgarian original for Prince Svjatoslav of Kiev. Among other entries it contained a treatise on poetics by Gregory Choiroboskos entitled *O obrazěx* (About images) with an outline on tropes and figures of speech. This is found in copies up to the fifteenth century.

The East Slavic Orthodox literature of the Middle Ages aimed at abstracting everything, seeing all that was temporal and perishable in nature, human life, and historical events as symbols and signs of eternity, infinity, and divinity. Its authors were eager to find symbolic theological attributions and correlations everywhere. They believed that the language of their writings ought to differ from all other forms of speech, to be elevated, sacred, and unaffected by trivialities, pervious only to the learned, the chosen, and the sophisticated. They used the Scripture, church fathers, and liturgical texts as everlasting sources. Approving comparison was made between the skills of the writer and the arrangement of a bouquet of flowers from different gardens—hence the abundance of quotations, particularly from the Psalter.

[2] Adrianova-Peretc, *Očerk poètičeskogo stilja*, p. 14.

The so-called Second South Slavic Influence of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which affected all Orthodox Slavic writings of the Eastern church as a whole, made this style even more sophisticated. It added at least two characteristics which later met with the Baroque: (1) a heightened sensibility and emphasis on exalted expression through elaborately structured tropes and figures of speech; (2) a conviction that human words are inadequate for explaining and transmitting substance, that is, abstract, divine values and meanings. We sense the writer's struggle with words, his search for the best ones through uttering synonymic and syntactic repetitions, chains of similes and metaphors, and witty connotations and oppositions. We witness the effort to hold all this to the rules of rhetoric, that legacy from classical antiquity prized so greatly during the time of the Baroque. Words are valued for their phonetic content and efficiency, as well. Lixačev characterizes this style as a complicated play on words which "ought to give the narrative importance and significance, erudition and 'wisdom,' which ought to make the reader seek, under the guise of various expressions, 'eternal,' secret, and profound meanings, and to make him experience mystical feelings." Even today these texts strike one as sacred writings or solemn prayers, icons lavishly depicted in words applied like stylistic gems.[3]

From Byzantine-Slavic Christianity the Eastern Slavs inherited a symbolic interpretation of the Old and New Testaments. Originating from the Gospel and the writings of the apostles, the interpretation was transformed into philosophical systems by Orygenes of Alexandria (second century A.D.) and by Saint Augustine, who said "Quid enim quod dicitur Testamentum Vetus nisi occultario Novi? Et quid est aliud quod dicitur Novum nisi Veteris revelatio?"[4] This kind of interpretation became an important element in the thought and writings of both Western and Eastern Christendom. The Crucifixion was interpreted as redemption for the sins of Adam and Eve, and Christ's baptism was analogous to the Deluge, the waters of which purified the world. Judah's betrayal paralleled the selling by Jacob's sons of their brother, Joseph. Abraham's sacrifice was viewed as a symbolic prefiguration: God replaces Isaac with a lamb, and the lamb is a symbol of Christ. Isaac's carrying the wood for the sacrifice was likened to Christ's carrying the cross. Jonah's expulsion from the Leviathan was believed to prefigure Christ's disappearance from the Sepulcher.

[3] Lixačev, *Poètika drevnerusskoj literatury*, p. 116.
[4] St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, lib. XVI, cap. XXV.

The Orthodox Slavs were familiar with these interpretations from the *Četii Minei* as well as from many other sources. In the second half of the twelfth century, when Bishop Kirill of Turov gave a sermon about the head of hell and its sting he addressed an audience aware of the biblical connotation of hell as the sea monster, Leviathan. Hell was thus depicted in Christian paintings for centuries, and the same image was to appear on the Baroque school stage. In the sixteenth and later centuries, Ukrainians visiting Saint Peter's in Rome could see Old Testament prefigurations of Christian martyrdom in Petro de Cortone's mosaics.[5] At least one of the subjects must have been familiar to them—the three Hebrew youths in the fiery furnace, a scene usually performed in Orthodox churches on the Saturday before Christmas.

Due largely to the polemics carried on in the Ukraine during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the study of Old Church Slavonic writings gained new momentum. It was in that atmosphere, time, and place that the two worlds of the modern West European Baroque and the Medieval Byzantine Slavic found congeniality in thought and expression.

At the height of the Renaissance, the Christian art of Western Europe was serene, like that of classical antiquity. In the seventeenth century, an aggressive and combative Catholicism expressed the yearnings of all beings for God and for tranquility in faith, as well as the torments of the soul, the dread of death and the Last Judgment, and the ultimate and eternal questions about God's infinite intellect and love. In its pathetic quality, the art of the seventeenth century seemed to many to hearken back to the last centuries of the Middle Ages.[6]

E. Mâle explains the richness, splendor, and magnificence of the arts at the end of the sixteenth century and during the seventeenth century as a reaction to the frugality of Protestantism and its iconoclasm.[7] But we can recognize, too, that this splendor and flamboyance corresponds with Orthodox liturgical traditions and church decor, as does the metaphoric symbolism that arose with it. The Orthodox were fully prepared to comprehend the new European trends in spectacular art and in writing. New to them was the creative unification of Christian art with classical paganism, as brought about by the Renaissance.

The learned Ukrainian clergy and educators were acquainted with West European books, which gave them the flavor of "new times."

[5] E. Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du XVII^e siècle et du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1972), p. 148.
[6] Mâle, *L'art religieux*, p. 9.
[7] Mâle, *L'art religieux*, p. 9.

Among these were Alciati's *Emblematum Liber,* first published in Augsburg in 1531 and later reedited many times, which had many imitators; *Polyhistor symbolicus* by Nicolaus Caussinus; *Mondo Symbolico* by Filippo Picinelli; and the famous *Iconology* by Cesare Ripa,[8] published in 1603, which went through seven editions by 1644 and many more in the next century (most were profusely illustrated).

Lectures on poetics and rhetoric delivered during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Ukrainian Orthodox academies and colleges (extant in manuscript form) testify to an acquaintance with ancient mythology, history, and literature and their Christian interpretations. The lectures were supplemented by so-called *Eruditiones* or *Humaniora studia,* usually borrowed from West European secondary sources and arranged in alphabetical order. The exercise and application of erudition was indeed the *signum temporis* of the Baroque. The schools were supposed to teach these skills, and scholars and artists were to demonstrate them.

What kind of erudition did the playwrights and performers of the Kievan school exhibit? Ripa's *Iconology* gives us the best notion of this erudition, of its components and substance, even though it was received at schools in bits and pieces and through the prism of the Orthodox heritage, as noted above. Ripa, as Mâle characterizes his work, "pillaged the whole of classical antiquity. He did not neglect the church fathers. He quoted such great writers of the Middle Ages as Saint Thomas, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio. . . . He knew . . . the poets of his own time . . . Ariosto and Tasso.[9] And Ripa looked everywhere for allegories, symbols, veiled secrets."[10] Ripa's detailed descriptions, and the book's illustrations, personified abstract ideas: Justice, Force, Self-possession, Humility, Peace, Benevolence, Concord, Harmony, Despair, Malice, Temptation, Perfection, Hope, Love, Will, Anger. Ripa also personified elements of Nature: Dawn (Aurora) and Twilight (Crepuscule), Night and Day, winds, months, continents and rivers, and many others. We see the result of his influence in European paintings, architecture, sculpture, and book frontispieces for almost two centuries. In theater, it was expressed in costumes and in the attributes and attitudes of allegorical stage characters.

Eruditiones in school programs included chapters on the gods of classical antiquity—the *Dii gentium.* Simplified as they were, they followed the

[8] A. Morozov, "Èmblematika barokko v literature i iskusstve petrovskogo vremeni," in *Problemy literaturnogo razvitija v Rossii pervoj treti XVIII v.* (= *Sbornik XVIII vek,* vol. 9) (Leningrad, 1974), pp. 223–26.

[9] Ariosto and Tasso are mentioned in nearly all extant Kievan lectures on poetics.

[10] Mâle, *L'art religieux,* p. 389.

modern trends of Western Europe. So students in the Ukraine were taught to examine ancient myth as allegorical parables with veiled symbolic meanings, like parables from the Scripture. They even learned that some classical ancient heroes duplicate—or at least resemble—Biblical heroes, for example, Hercules and Samson, or Niobe and Lot's wife.

As we know from Kievan lectures on poetics, students there were familiar with the name Jacobus Massenius, the author of an alphabetically arranged reference book, *Speculum imaginum veritatis occultae, exhibens symbola, emblemata . . .* (Coloniae, 1650), which was widely used by school playwrights and costumers all over Europe. This compendium, which simplified the material excerpted, facilitated the introduction of Baroque images and their interpretation into schools. Not every professor read Ripa or Alciati, but many knew and used Massenius.

* * *

Now, can we speak about the Ukrainian school theater in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as an expression of the Baroque? To answer this question, let us examine one of the oldest extant plays for those characteristics described above. This is an Easter play, performed in 1698. Only about half of it is now extant, but that part will suffice. Its abbreviated title, *Carstvo Natury Ljudskoj prelestyju razorennoe, blahodatiju že Xrysta paky sostavlennoe,*[11] roughly translates as "The Kingdom of Human Nature Destroyed by Temptation, and Saved by Christ's Benevolence." The full title itself is a good example of the Baroque penchant for sophisticated syntax, which had its source in the elaborate style of the Second South Slavic Influence. It reads: *Carstvo Natury Ljudskoj, prelestyju, eju že smert' carstvova v nas nepohrѣšyvšymy, razorennoe, blahodatiju že Xrysta Cara slavy, ternovym vѣncem uvjadennoho, paky sostavlennoe y vѣnčannoe, smutnym že dѣjstvom v kyevskyx Aїynax, pod vlastyju presvѣtlaho tryvѣnčannaho suščyx, ot blahorodnyx rosyjskyx mladencov yzvѣščennoe. Roku vonže Xrystos Car slavŷ razoryvyj adovo carstvo 1698.*

The play begins (following the prologue) with an argument between rebellious angels, led by Lucifer, and faithful ones, led by Michael, and the expulsion of the rebels into hell. This argument constitutes the first scene of act 1, and it is related to chapter 13 of Saint John's *Book of Revelations* (Apocalypse). Rjezanov, moreover, found in it a motif taken from the Orthodox apocrypha (e.g., *Slova sv. Ivana Feoloha*): Lucifer

[11] For the text and commentaries, see V. I. Rjezanov, *Drama ukrajins'ka,* vol. 3 (Kiev, 1925), pp. 109–149, and pp. 6–17.

not only rebels against God, but refuses to humiliate himself as a worshipper of man.

Scenes two through five of the play take place in paradise and in hell. Here allegorical figures do not act out the events described in the first three chapters of the *Book of Genesis* (the creation of man, his placement in paradise, then his temptation and expulsion), but rather generalize the eternal, lasting consequences of these events. The figures in the second scene are Omnipotent Power (Vsemohuščaja Syla), Human Nature, Will (Vola), and Delight (Roskoš); in the third, Lucifer's Malice (Zlost') and Temptation (Prelest'). The fourth scene has Human Nature confronting Temptation and then Will, and ends with a voice from the heavens. The fifth scene has ties with a West European Medieval tradition adopted by the Baroque, the so-called *Trial in Paradise.* In our play appear the allegorical figures of God's Anger (Hnѣv Božyj), God's Mercy (Myloserdye), God's Judgment (Sud), Human Nature, Truth (Istynna), and Decree (Dekret). A cherub serves as messenger.

The next scene is a pantomime which takes place in hell. There, besides Human Nature and Captivity (Nevola), is Vulcan as the blacksmith of hell. In the seventh scene Human Nature's Lament (Plač Natury Ljudskoj) roams along the road, complaining. Angels from Heaven console her. (It should be noted that angels in the Christian tradition were not allegorical but real persons.) Then God's Love (Blahodat' Božaja) appears and soothes Human Nature's Lament. In the eighth scene there are two allegories: Lucifer's Malice thanks Temptation, and in a long address, Malice mentions ancient personifications of the winds—Zephyr, Akvilon, Boreas, Egrus. She speaks about gods and heroes of the classical mythological underworld, the symbols of Wrong—Pluto, Proserpina, the Furies (Alecto, Tisiphone, Megara). She mentions Orpheus, Sisyphus, Tantalus, and others known in hell. The scholarly playwright thus not only made use of the *Eruditiones,* but demonstrated that the essence of the Bible and the essence of classical mythology are the same.

In the last scene of act 1, allegorical figures of Despair (Otčajanye), Faith (Vѣra), Hope (Nadežda), and Love (Mylost' Boža) address Human Nature. I have identified one part of Despair's monologue (lines 672–686) as an adaptation from the first book of Ovid's *Tristia,* Elegy one, which was known in the Ukraine not only in the original, but also in translations found in school scripts on poetics.[12]

[12] Cf., for example, Teophan Prokopovyč's Slavic and Polish translations. See P. Lewin, *Wykłady poetyki w uczelniach rosyjskich XVIII w. a tradycje polskie* (Wrocław, etc., 1972), pp. 184–85.

Act 2 (extant in part) shows Old Testament events as prefigurations of the Gospel. In the first scene Lucifer's Malice is alarmed by Faith, Hope, and Love's efforts to save Human Nature. She threatens to replace the olive branch—the Old Testament symbol of peace and hope—given to Human Nature by Faith with thorns—for Christians associated with Christ's crown of thorns. Then she calls on Captivity to send Human Nature "vo obrazѣ judejskom" (personified as the Jewish people) to the cruel pharaoh. Thus, the second scene takes place in the pharaoh's palace. The pharaoh has a dream in which the allegorical figure of Fortune (Fortuna) announces that his captivity of the Jews is her gift to him. The pharaoh is awakened by his hetman and other nobles (Velmožy). He tells them about Fortune's promise, and in a monologue mentions Neptune, Mars, Boreas, Morpheus. Neither the hetman at the pharaoh's court nor the classical gods in his speech were perceived in the Kievan academy as an anachronism (as we would understand it). The audience perceived it as a convention attesting to the everlasting present of biblical events and classical myth, and to the eternal nature of their meaning and significance.

At this point in the play, Captivity brings a crowd of Jews on stage, and the Egyptians tie them up. In the next two scenes no allegorical figures appear. The audience of that time perceived the dramatization of the *Book of Exodus* as being very realistic—"as it really was." In one of these scenes, Moses hears God's voice coming from the burning bush. In the next, Moses and Aaron confront the pharaoh. The audience saw on stage the transformation of staffs into snakes, some of the plagues, the release of the Jews, and finally, in a technically sophisticated performance, the pursuit of the Jews, the parting of the waters, and the drowning of the Egyptians. Both scenes required special stage effects, the technicalities of which were described in contemporary staging manuals (Serlio's, Sabbattini's, Furttenbach's, and others), and were used in many school theaters. In the fifth scene the allegorical figure of Lucifer's Malice reappears, and in the sixth (extant in part) Death, accompanied by allegorical figures of the Mortal Sins, appears to explain the consequences of the expulsion of Human Nature from paradise.

On the basis of the play's prologue and title and the practice of West European Easter drama, Rjezanov assumes that the lost second half turned to New Testament motifs, such as events from Christ's life, the Crucifixion, and the Resurrection.[13]

I have tried to show the Baroque eclecticism of this play's "plot," as one

[13] See Rjezanov, *Drama ukrajins'ka,* 3: 16.

which is motivated by a specific understanding of Scripture, mythology, and history. Is the Baroque equally expressed in other structural elements of the play?

Baroque school theater was not a theater of intrigue. Rather, it was a theater of words, of conceptual associations, and of special stage effects.[14] Consequently, the audience was moved (and was supposed to be moved) not by the development of action or intrigue, but by the enchantment of words, the ecstasy evoked by sound and rhythm, by admiration for the playwright's ingenuity, acute wit and erudition, and by "miraculous" stage techniques. These elements were to transport the spectators from their everyday lives to higher worlds filled with eternal and fundamental meaning. As suggested earlier, Orthodox spectators in the Ukraine during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were well prepared for this kind of theater not only by their modern schooling, but by their own traditions. The theater, like the church, became the *Imago mundi* to them.

Can we visualize and hear *The Kingdom of Human Nature* as they perceived it in 1698? Let us try.

Of the fifteen extant scenes (nine in act 1, and six in act 2), only four are purely dialogic. The others open with long monologues, and some have more than one long monologue. Nowadays, an audience would probably be very bored by this. How and why did seventeenth- and eighteenth-century spectators endure—and, even more, enjoy—such plays? They were enchanted by the prayerlike solemnity and the word arrangement of the monologues, which were actually amplified speeches. These did not give any new information, but only expanded on what had already been said. The monologues were explanatory or argumentative, abounded in elaborate metaphors, repeated words in their varying grammatical forms, and used synonyms and tautologies, anaphores, other tropes, and figures of repetition. They compared and contrasted by posing antitheses. This does not mean, of course, that our play represents the highest level of those techniques, but it aimed at such results and it was composed with such ambitions. Let me give a few examples.

The first monologue by a character is usually a self-introduction. At the outset of the play, Lucifer introduces himself. His first monologue is built upon the personal pronoun "I." By characterizing his selfishness and

[14] See, e.g., Jan Okoń, *Dramat i teatr szkolny: Sceny jezuickie XVII wieku* (Wrocław, etc., 1970); A. Schöne, *Emblematik und Drama in Zeitalter des Barock* (Munich, 1968); Johannes Müller, *Das Jesuitendrama in den Ländern deutscher Zunge vom Anfang (1555) bis zum Hochbarock (1665)* (Augsburg, 1930); and Willi Fleming, *Das Ordensdrama* (Leipzig, 1930).

arrogant pride, it imposes a negative perception of the character on the audience and also gives his speech a certain rhythm. Lines 1, 3, 5 of this monologue (which, like the play as a whole—with two exceptions—is written in thirteen-syllabic lines) begin with "Az esm." Line 7 begins with "Po *moemu* razumu," line 8 with "Dѣlo *moeja* volѣ," line 9 with "*Mnѣ* sušču," line 11 with "*Moejej* ostrotѣ"; the pronoun also occurs in the remaining ten lines.

At the opening of the third scene, Lucifer's Malice introduces herself in a long monologue (forty-five lines). And once again we hear the effects of the same device. At the beginning of the very first line, structured as two rhetorical questions, are "Čto az?" and, later, "Koe *my* est dѣlo?" Line 3 begins with "Svoju," and lines 9, 11, 12, 15 with "Ja." Lines 17, 18, 19 read: "Pekelnoe žylyšče zѣlo *my* spokojno/ To *moe* xranylyšče, tam *sja* maju hojno./ Serdce Ljucyferovo, ono *mnѣ* obytel." In the twenty-first line we find "*az* tohda smotryla," and so on. In the same monologue the destructive force personified in this allegorical figure is expressed by an accumulation of verbs of destructive action. In the course of a mere ten lines near the end of the monologue, we read: "Zluplju, zderu . . . , Nyzrynu so prestola . . . ," "Sokrušu . . . ," "Poperu, ubju . . . ," "Razoru, razproverhu . . ."; "Maju ja . . . sposob . . . ju ulovyty," ". . . zakynuty sety."

Lucifer's opening monologue concludes with the deliberate use of impressive combinations of words with the same stem: "*hospodstv* hdѣ estem *hospodstvyem* volѣ:/ V *syly* . . . nad samye *syly,/ Vlastytelnym vlasty* prevosxožu dѣly.// *Načalstviju* moemu . . . čto ž sut *načala*?/ *Načalstvuju* . . . z *načala.*// Ašče est y *arxahhel* . . . / Ynšyj ot *arxahhelov* . . . / Y Myxayl *Arxahhel* . . . nѣst mja dostoyn."

A favorite device both of the Orthodox *pletenje sloves* and the Baroque was the stringing together of artistic (metaphoric, symbolic) definitions and descriptions. Lucifer's Malice, for example, says this about Lucifer in a sequence of lines: ". . . moj sožytel, pryjatel' serdečny,/ Vseho dѣla moeho xranytel bezpečny,/ Dux čyst y sozdanie krasno, velelѣpo"; and then this about Temptation: "mudra Prelest, ljubyma druhynja,/ Pekelnyx sopyjcov rozkošna bohynja." In the fourth scene of act 2, Aaron threatens the pharaoh with God's punishment in this sequence: "Potrebyt tja ot zemlja Savaof pravdyvyj,/ Na dom y ljudy tvoja strašny poslet hrady,/ Odoždyt ohn' y dux buren, y jadovyty hady,/ Pobiet vves Ehypet ot človek do skota,/ . . . / Yzmoryt raby tvoja stary y mladenca,/ Pohubyt y ssuščaho vsjakaho pervenca." Gradation (climax) was also used, as when Temptation persuades Human Nature to eat the apple: "Vnѣ *draho,* vnutr ešče *dražajše*/ Vnѣšnym vydom *sladkoe,* vnutrnym že *sladčajše.*"

The use of antitheses required more elaborate skills. In our play, it is the primary device in the long monologue of God's Anger (fifth scene of act 1) in which this allegorical figure reproaches Human Nature for her lack of gratitude: "Ej Vsemoščna Syla počty krasotoju,/ ... / A ona ... oskverny hrѣxamy,// . . . / Ej Vsemoščnaja Syla vosxotѣ sozdaty/ . . . / Ona že ljubov syju otverže ot serdca.// . . . / Ej Vsemoščnaja Syla postavy v velycѣ/ Slavy . . . / A ona bezčestyem počastova Boha," and so forth.

A variety of wordplay—such as repetitions of the same word in its differing forms and with different definitions, synonyms, words with the same stem, and metaphors connected with them—had a strong impact upon the audience both emotionally and intellectually. All of act 1, scene 7 (a lyric scene written in a different meter from the other parts of the play—namely, in sapphic strophe—with two eleven-syllabic and one five-syllabic line and supposedly sung) plays on the words "cry," "tears," "weeping," which are repeated in almost every line of the forty-three strophes. The instances are: "vody slez," "sleznoe more," "slez toky," "sleznyja vody," "slezny volny," "utonu vo slezax," "sleznyja potoky"; "stenanyem," "zѣlnymy slezamy"; "Plač Ljudskoj Natury"; "Uvy mnѣ! Uvy"; "neščasny potopy"; "neznosno bremja topyt... v bury"; "Ax mnѣ, hore mnѣ! Plačte, plačte oču,/ Plačte vse dnye, plačte y vsja noču,/ Plačte vsja noču! . . . Plačsja o mnѣ, svѣte!"; "sobolѣznѣte skorbnymy hlasy"; "Plačem my, plačem," "rydaem," "svѣt . . . plačem zalyvaem"; "plaču," "plaču," "utoly plaču," "horko rydajte," "sorydajte," "lyjte moja slezy," "Promyjte žalem oču"; "Plačem bez mѣry," "Rydaj, Edeme, plačte, zvѣry raja"; "plačet, . . . rydaja"; "ax, žal!"; "Lѣpo nam . . . oplakyvaty"; "jablko . . . utopaet"—in tears, obviously; "slez velykyx vody," "ystočnyky slezny . . . horkyx rydany"; "tebѣ . . . plačlyvu"; "Plačte . . . vsy ljudy!," "Tokmo lyj slezy, Plaču nevtolymyj,/ Zhasyš horaščyj hnѣv neutolymyj/ Boha Ehova"; "ot plaču slezŷ prolyvaty"; "obfyty . . . sleznyja potoky"; and finally, "voda slez velyka . . . vtopyt" the forces of hell, and "zaplynet v raj."

In act 2, after his dream, the pharaoh and his attendants give speeches which contain the same kind of play on the words "jubilate," "merriness," "rejoice" ("soradujetsja," "veselytsja," "radostju sja . . . yspolnat," "tѣšymsja"). The confrontation of the pharaoh by Moses and Aaron is marked by a rhythmical repetition of the verb of demand and its denial: "otpusty"—"ne otpušču."

These excerpts convey to us the impact and the enchantment that the elaborate orchestration of words, sound, and versification had upon the Kievan audience in the year 1698. The performance was undoubtedly a

solemn occasion, almost like a church service, and was pursued with similar purpose: to make man aware of the omnipotence of God and of his own sinful and weak nature, and to make him feel the essence of eternity and his own perishability. In addition, the school theater was appealing because it employed "miraculous" stage effects, skillfully blended classical antiquity with Christian writing and allegories of modern art, and gave life to the playwright's and the stage director's witty concepts. Taken together, these elements allow us to speak about the Kievan school theater as an expression of the Ukrainian Baroque.

Harvard University

Contemporary Critics of Gogol's *Vechera* and the Debate about Russian *narodnost'* (1831-1832)*

D. B. SAUNDERS

In December 1831 a reviewer who called himself Andrii Tsarynnyi wrote a long article entitled "Thoughts of a Little Russian on reading the stories of Bee-keeper Rudyi Pan'ko, published by him in a book under the title 'Evenings on a farmstead near Dikan'ka,' and [on reading] the reviews of them."[1] The reviewer explained the significance of the pseudonym in a note. In the Ukraine a *tsaryna* was the barrier outside a village, and a *tsarynnyi* was an old man who sat in a hut by it during summertime: "his responsibility is to see that the gates are always shut, so that the livestock don't run out of the village into the cornfields."[2] In making an analysis of the young Gogol's first literary production, the reviewer was appointing himself guardian of the Ukrainian, or "Little Russian," public honor. He was anxious to ensure that the many works of art now touching upon the Ukraine did not sully it. Without condemning "Rudyi Pan'ko" — while, indeed, encouraging him to write more — the reviewer felt obliged to correct him on many points of detail and to remonstrate with him more than once on the general picture of "Little Russia" which he conveyed.

The review was one of the two principal responses to the appearance of the first part of the *Vechera*. Tsarynnyi represented the response from the

* For their comments on drafts of this article I thank Dr. G. Donchin, Mr. J. Graffy, and Mr. V. Swoboda of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London; Mr. H. T. Willetts of St. Antony's College, Oxford; and Dr. A. D. Stokes of University College, Oxford. I am grateful to the British Council for providing me with the opportunity to study in the USSR, and to the Soviet librarians and archivists who helped me when I was there. All errors of fact and interpretation remain, of course, my own.

1 Tsarynnyi, *Mysli malorossiianina po prochtenii povestei Pasichnika Rudogo-Pan'ka, izdannykh im v knizhke pod zaglaviem: Vechera na khutore bliz Dikan'ki, i retsenzii na onye* (separate edition, St. Petersburg, 1832). Tsarynnyi's work first appeared in serial form, in *Syn otechestva* for 1832, but all references to it made here are to the separate edition. The date of composition appears on p. 71 of that edition.

2 *Mysli malorossiianina*, p. 66, fn.

Ukraine, where the stories' every detail had significance and correct presentation was of the utmost importance. The other major reaction came from the Russians, to whom the minutiae of Ukrainian life were irrelevant. What was important to them was the difference between the Ukraine, however presented, and Russia. To Russians all Ukrainians looked alike; what mattered was their contribution to the general movement of ideas within the empire. That they were making a contribution was firmly asserted by Gogol's reviewer in the most important periodical of the day, *Severnaia pchela*.[3] This reviewer felt that the time when Ukrainians were determined "to preserve in all their purity the peculiarities of their dialect and the originality of a long-past life-style" was disappearing, and that the "Little Russian school" had now "left behind this, its too local goal, and turned to deeper thought . . . the laying bare of *narodnost'*, in all the breadth of that concept."[4]

Here, then, were the two ways in which the Ukraine had been feeding Russian literary life in the period following the Napoleonic wars.[5] Ukrainians both engaged in debate among themselves and provided the Russians

3 *Severnaia pchela*, 1831, nos. 219–220 (29–30 September). The reviewer, who signed himself "V," was V. A. Ushakov: I. F. Masanov, *Slovar' psevdonimov russkikh pisatelei, uchenykh i obshchestvennykh deiatelei*, 4 vols. (Moscow, 1956–60), 1:181. Paul Debreczeny mistakenly ascribed the review to F. V. Bulgarin, one of the editors of *Severnaia pchela*: "Nikolay Gogol and his Contemporary Critics," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s. 56, no. 3 (1966): 5. Ushakov was more liberal than Bulgarin: on the former, see V. V. Poznanskii, *Ocherk formirovaniia russkoi natsional'noi kul'tury: Pervaia polovina XIX veka* (Moscow, 1975), p. 159; on the latter, see N. Malcolm, "Ideology and Intrigue in Russian Journalism under Nicholas I: *Moskovskii telegraf* and *Severnaya pchela*" (D.Phil. diss., Oxford University, 1974), e.g., p. 257, where Bulgarin and Grech are described as "two men who closed their minds to broader political questions in 1825."

4 *Severnaia pchela*, 1831, no. 219 (29 September), p. 1.

5 For the Ukraine's many appearances in Russian literature both before and after the publication of Gogol's *Vechera*, see A. I. Komarov, "Ukrainskii iazyk, fol'klor i literatura v russkom obshchestve nachala XIX veka," *Uchenye zapiski Leningradskogo universiteta/Seriia filologicheskikh nauk* 4 (1939): 124–58; V. V. Gippius, "'Vechera na khutore bliz Dikan'ki' Gogolia," *Trudy Otdela novoi russkoi literatury Instituta literatury Akademii nauk* 1 (1948): 9–38 (singling out the years 1798, 1819, and the late 1820s as times when the Ukraine was particularly prominent in literary publications); and F. Ia. Priima, *Shevchenko i russkaia literatura XIX veka* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1961), pp. 7–53 ("Russko-ukrainskie literaturnye sviazi pervoi treti XIX veka i poèticheskoe tvorchestvo rannego Shevchenko [sic]"). B. D. Hrinchenko's chronologically-organized *Literatura ukrainskogo fol'klora: Opyt bibliograficheskogo ukazatelia* (Chernihiv, 1901) shows that Russian works on the subject of Ukrainian folklore were appearing from 1777. B. P. Kirdan has recently studied the early collectors of Ukrainian folklore: *Sobirateli narodnoi poèzii: Iz istorii ukrainskoi fol'kloristiki XIX v.* (Moscow, 1974). No critical literature in Ukrainian has been used in the preparation of this article.

with material for the debate about the standing of Russia in the world. The appearance of the first of Gogol's *Vechera* brought the discussion to a head on both fronts. The Ukraine became still more clearly a focal point in the intensifying arguments about Russia's cultural orientation and potential. Both Tsarynnyi and the *Severnaia pchela* reviewer, V. A. Ushakov, were writing for national journals, one based in Moscow and the other in St. Petersburg. Both spoke of the many other works on Ukrainian themes which had appeared since the beginning of the century. The fact that they and their editors thought the anonymous author of the *Vechera* worthy of such prominent treatment was testimony as much to the significance of Gogol's themes as to his literary talent. The reviews of the *Vechera* constitute a good starting point for discussion of the contribution the Ukraine was making to Russian literary life in the early nineteenth century.

That contribution was not only of literary, but also of political importance. Given the absence of representative institutions in Russia, discussion of the condition of the empire could only be conducted in secret or in oblique literary form, and for this reason the Ukraine stood for more than a new artistic trend. Even arguments about the standing of the Ukrainian language, to quote a Soviet specialist on the subject,

> would acquire a clear political color. . . . From the "scholarly" plane these discussions would descend into concrete political practice. Arguments about language would turn into arguments about peoples and their significance in history; a question about the origins of a language would turn into the question of the origin of nationalities.[6]

The part the Ukraine played in the literary debate of the early nineteenth century was no mere addendum to political history — to the eighteenth-century changes in the empire's internal administration, the growth of centralization, the movement of many Ukrainians to St. Petersburg, and the formation there of Ukrainian networks of political patronage.[7] On the contrary, it was the natural extension of political developments. The philosophical implications of material change were being worked out in

6 Komarov, "Ukrainskii iazyk," p. 132.

7 On the political history of the Ukraine in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see Z. E. Kohut, "The Abolition of Ukrainian Autonomy (1763–1786): A Case Study in the Integration of a non-Russian Area into the Empire" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1975), and O. Pelech, "Towards a Historical Sociology of the Ukrainian Ideologues in the Russian Empire of the 1830's and 1840's" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1976). On Ukrainians in Russia during this period, see D. B. Saunders, "The Political and Cultural Impact of the Ukraine on Great Russia, c. 1775–c. 1835" (D.Phil. diss., Oxford University, 1978).

literature and in literary criticism. The political uses made of the Ukrainian theme in literature illustrate, to a degree, Kołakowski's view that Russia was "a country in which . . . there was no clear-cut dividing line between literary criticism and assassination."[8]

The *Severnaia pchela* reviewer, in particular, was concerned with the wider implications of Gogol's stories. By pointing to the "Little Russian Anecdotes" which had appeared in *Vestnik Evropy* in the 1820s, and to the *Ukrainskie melodii* which Mykola Markevych had published in 1831, he demonstrated that there were precedents for works on Ukrainian themes appearing in Russian and argued that this was the language Ukrainians should adopt to achieve their full effect.[9] That effect, he felt, consisted of the contribution Ukrainians could make towards the definition of a Russian national character. Russians sensed that their culture was derivative, but were finding it difficult to create one of their own:

> The elements of the peculiarly Russian character are still elusive . . . we are already in a condition to appreciate the artificial nature of our foreign-oriented (*ochuzhe-zemlennoi*) physiognomy; but to inoculate it with a native vaccine, however gracefully — this wish is in itself not as easy as reprinting in Russian letters an idea of Schlegel, or setting up at a Suzdal' factory a machine invented in London.[10]

The reviewer implied that the Ukraine offered Russia material with which to begin defining a Slavic character. He was extending a debate which had gone on in politics since Peter the First had opened the window on Europe and in literary circles since the heyday of Karamzin. Was Russia right to derive her inspiration from abroad, and if not, was there a suitable alternative at home?

Starting from the conviction that at least there *ought* to be such an alternative, that Russian nationality was capable of being defined in Russian terms, the reviewer first analyzed the various attempts at definition which had been made before the appearance of Gogol's stories, and then set the latter in the context of this wider philosophizing.

The first attempt he chose to consider, that of Pogodin, reflected precisely his attitude toward Gogol's work, for it showed that literature was being received by contemporaries in terms far broader than the purely literary. Pogodin was to become one of the leading philosophers of

8 L. Kołakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1978), 2:307.
9 Belinskii, too, felt that Ukrainians ought to write in Russian: see V. Swoboda and R. Martin, "Shevchenko and Belinsky Revisited," *Slavonic and East European Review* 56 (1978): 546–62. Literature in modern Ukrainian dates from the appearance of I. P. Kotliarevs'kyi's *Eneida* in 1798.
10 *Severnaia pchela*, 1831, no. 219, pp. 1–2.

Nicholas I's Official Nationality; to discuss an unknown new writer in conjunction with him was to make fiction responsible for much more than entertainment. The reviewer accused Pogodin of "provincialism" (*provintsiializm*). By implication, therefore, since the tenor of the review was favorable towards the *Vechera*, Ushakov thought of Gogol as the opposite of provincial. Pogodin's "garb," wrote the reviewer, "is too contrived." It appeared that he:

> hates alien things more than he loves his own: otherwise we cannot explain his too decisive leaning towards provincialism. But what is national does not consist of provincialism . . . or of old linguistic forms preserved amidst the people, who in their life and in their thinking lag behind the new generation: it is necessary to distinguish what is Russian from Russianism (*Russkoe ot Russitsizma*).[11]

One would have expected such a criticism, perhaps, to have been leveled at Gogol rather than Pogodin, for Gogol lacked Pogodin's broad Slavic vision and extensive historical sweep. The reason it was directed at the future philosopher of Official Nationality may have sprung from a fundamental political disagreement between the reviewer and Pogodin, the one forward-looking, the other highly conservative.[12] Both saw things of value in the peripheries of the empire, but they were different things, some tending towards progress, others encouraging reaction. The reviewer found the things that Pogodin thought noteworthy outmoded, whereas personally he saw in the Ukraine a new life and vigor that could reach the empire's core.

Here, perhaps, is the reason why the Ukraine was so prominent in the literary debates of the 1820s and 1830s: it provided more than one camp with fuel. According to taste, it could stand for either medieval obscurity or the pristine simplicity of the state of nature; either age-old tradition and the power of prescription, or freedom from the straitjacket of modern society. It provided both conservatives and liberals with food for thought. The *Severnaia pchela* reviewer felt that it offered the prospect of new life to Russians who were "orientated towards falsity, even in the use of language,"[13] but to others its primary significance was as the last resting-

[11] *Severnaia pchela*, 1831, no. 219, p. 2. The reviewer probably had in mind Pogodin's *Marfa, posadnitsa novgorodskaia* (Moscow, 1830), a five-act verse drama. In the preface to the play (p. iv) Pogodin claimed the authority of medieval chronicles for the outmoded expressions his characters were made to speak. Pushkin, unlike the *Severnaia pchela* reviewer, approved of Pogodin's attempt to grasp the atmosphere of the sixteenth century: *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, 17 vols. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1937–59), 11:181.

[12] See above, fn. 3, for the relative liberalism of Ushakov.

[13] *Severnaia pchela*, 1831, no. 219, p. 3.

place of those "old linguistic forms" which Pogodin was so roundly condemned for admiring. The Ukraine was providing new substance for the debate in which Karamzinians and Shishkovites had earlier exhausted themselves.

The introduction of a Ukrainian element, however, altered the character of the debate. No longer was the argument about French accretions or about whether Russian literature belonged in the European literary tradition; now it ran on internal lines, turning, for example, on "living" versus "dead" Russian, the modern versus the medieval. The central question was no longer whether Russia could assert her cultural independence, but what form that independence was to take. The Ukraine offered the prospect of some form of native cultural synthesis, which all *littérateurs* now appeared to desire.

The second attempt to define Russian nationality in Russian terms which was considered by Gogol's *Severnaia pchela* reviewer was that of the writer Zagoskin, whose first novel, *Iurii Miloslavskii,* had appeared in 1829. After Pogodin's "provincialism," Zagoskin's work constituted an attempt to affirm Russian national pride by looking to the heroic past. The reviewer felt that this attempt failed no less than Pogodin's, because "in this ardent atmosphere [i.e., of the seventeenth century, in which the novel was set] it is scarcely possible to modify the roughness of the original physiognomy."[14] Writing in the sophisticated atmosphere of nineteenth-century St. Petersburg, the reviewer perhaps found the thought of seventeenth-century Moscow a little vulgar. But he showed a keen appreciation of the reasons why novelists should want to write about the Russian past. He explained why the inhabitants of St. Petersburg felt a lack of of identity: "In a certain sense, and not without foundation, the character of our capital may seem, so to speak, colonial. Is it not this conception which prompted a pure patriotic soul [Zagoskin] to look for comfort in the epochs of our national glory?"[15] This was a particularly perceptive statement. St. Petersburg had been founded only at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and its horizons were still changing: the Kazan' cathedral was opened only in 1811, the Isaakievskii was still being built. The city was full of recent immigrants, colonies of foreigners and colonies of men from the provinces looking for their fortune. It needed an identity. Zagoskin's novel implied, at least to Gogol's reviewer, that such

14 *Severnaia pchela,* 1831, no. 219, p. 3. Pushkin, nevertheless, felt that Zagoskin's novel was good: *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii,* 11:92–93.
15 *Severnaia pchela,* 1831, no. 219, p. 3.

an identity could be found in the annals of seventeenth-century Muscovy. Perhaps this answer to the problem carried too many reactionary overtones for the intellectuals of St. Petersburg. The "Ukrainian solution," on the other hand, had the merit of freshness and the potential for broad appeal; it stood outside traditional rivalries.

Before considering what the Ukraine had to offer, the *Severnaia pchela* reviewer mentioned a third contemporary attempt to increase Russian self-awareness — that of Polevoi, in his *History of the Russian People* (which had begun to appear in 1829). This Ushakov seems to have viewed as the academic counterpart of Gogol's work in fiction. In speaking of writers who were trying to "present the ancient Russian in his superstitious traditions, oaths, and beliefs" — a category which surely included Gogol and the primitive world of his *Vechera* — he said that it would be appropriate to refer to "a phenomenon in which is concentrated, and made manifest in the highest degree of exertion, the academic endeavor to create nationality: we mean the *History of the Russian People*; but the great significance and value of this work does not permit its comparison with the Tales [of Gogol]."[16] Here the reviewer was making clear where he stood in the contemporary debate about approaches to Russian history. Polevoi, of whom he approved so strongly, was writing his *History* to offset the influence of Karamzin's *History of the Russian State*, which appeared in twelve volumes between 1818 and 1829. Polevoi believed that in history it was important to consider not merely the action of central authorities, but the behavior of society at large. Even before the appearance of Gogol's *Vechera*, Polevoi had perceived that the Ukraine offered considerable scope for the analysis of unusual social forms. He inveighed against Bantysh-Kamens'kyi's *History of Little Russia*, for instance, on the grounds that the author had missed a good opportunity to write a history of society rather than of political organization.[17] The *Severnaia pchela* reviewer, taking Polevoi's side in the argument, seems to have found compensation for Bantysh-Kamens'kyi's failure in Gogol's stories. Here was a "proto-populist" presentation of southern society. Gogol was not approaching the question of Russian nationality in the same literary form as that chosen by Polevoi, but for the reviewer it was in the context of questions raised by Polevoi that Gogol's work should be read. The *Vechera* represented the latest of a series of different approaches to the

[16] *Severnaia pchela*, 1831, no. 219, p. 3. Polevoi's *History* appeared in six volumes between 1829 and 1833.
[17] See *Moskovskii telegraf*, 1830, no. 17, pp. 74–97; no. 18, pp. 224–57.

question: how were Russians to see themselves and to realize their potential?

Before discussing the content of the stories, the reviewer brought the threads of his argument together. Inspiration of the same order, he felt, was to be found both in the heady Russian past, source for historical novels and plays, and in the Ukrainian present.

Little Russians certainly have their special physiognomy, or at least actively remember it . . . our latest writers, wanting to color their historical pictures in popular shades, looked for them, as if by arrangement, in Little Russian life. *Dmitrii Samozvanets* and *Iurii Miloslavskii* [historical novels by Bulgarin and Zagoskin], published at the same time, equally laid bare this tendency . . . .[18]

The historical novels and the writers on Ukrainian themes were both concerned with conveying the life of the people — but Ukrainian subject-matter, in the reviewer's view, offered more striking material than history. Gogol's *Vechera na kanune Ivana Kupaly,* he observed, revealed the simplicity of character of the Ukrainian peasant, "from which *we* have so far diverged . . . ."[19] This was precisely the point: the desired simplicity of days gone by was still to be found in the life of the Ukraine, not yet overlaid by Western sophistication.

Today the *Vechera* are studied as the first important work of one of Russia's greatest writers, but at the time of their publication the author was anonymous. Polevoi, indeed, whose pro-Ukrainian sympathies were clearly well known,[20] seems to have thought someone in Moscow was playing a practical joke on him, by getting him to write an enthusiastic review of a work which would turn out to be only imitation Ukrainian.[21] It was not the fame of the author, then, nor even, given the polemical purposes they were made to serve, the intrinsic literary merit of the stories which won them their widespread notice. It was rather the fact that they represented the latest in a whole series of works which had been appearing on Ukrainian themes. The earlier examples of the breed, which had already awakened critics to the possibilities inherent in the Ukraine, were noted by Tsarynnyi in his lengthy review.[22]

18 *Severnaia pchela,* 1831, no. 220 (30 September), p. 1.

19 *Severnaia pchela,* 1831, no. 220, pp. 2–3 (emphasis conveyed by word order in the original).

20 Sympathy with Ukrainian nationalism was one of the charges leveled against Polevoi by the minister of education, Uvarov, when the latter sought to close Polevoi's journal in 1834: see V. N. Orlov's "Nikolai Polevoi i ego 'Moskovskii telegraf,'" in his *Puti i sud'by* (Leningrad, 1971), p. 440.

21 *Moskovskii telegraf,* 1831, no. 17, p. 94. Nadezhdin mocked Polevoi for falling victim to journalistic intrigues: *Teleskop* 5 (1831):558–59.

22 See above, fn. 5, for the modern critics who have studied the Ukrainian theme in

Like Polevoi, Tsarynnyi does not seem to have been aware that Gogol was actually Ukrainian. He thought the writer was an armchair inventor indulging in flights of fancy from the capital. The fact that one Ukrainian could not pick out another by his work is perhaps a measure of the artificiality of the distinction sometimes made between "genuine" and "quisling" Ukrainians in early nineteenth-century Russia. Tsarynnyi saw himself as a custodian of the Ukrainian heritage, a true Ukrainian anxious to protect the glory of the Ukraine's traditions. But Gogol, too, was nothing if not properly Ukrainian in 1831. Although he seems to have been surprised on arrival in St. Petersburg that things Ukrainian were of such interest to the inhabitants of the capital,[23] it cannot be argued, in the light of modern scholarship, that he invented an interest in the Ukraine only after coming north or on seeing that it was the most practical way to literary success.[24] The interest had always been there — what was new was the realization that even in St. Petersburg, it was good policy to pursue that interest. It was especially good policy in St. Petersburg because in this wider context the Ukraine was acquiring special contemporary importance. To argue, then, with George S. N. Luckyj,[25] that there was "polarity in the literary Ukraine" in the first half of the nineteenth century — that Gogol, as it were, was an "integrator," whereas Tsarynnyi may be called a "traditionalist"[26] — and that some Ukrainians were prepared to "sell their souls" and write in Russian while others fervently developed the literary possibilities of Ukrainian: these arguments are overstated, and misleading because they overlook the principal significance of all Ukrainian literary activity in the early nineteenth century — the way in which it contributed towards the development of a Slavic identity within the empire.

---

early nineteenth-century Russian literature. The attraction of the Ukraine was well put in P. A. Viazemskii's review of Narizhnyi's *Dva Ivana*: until he read the novel, the reviewer, who was Russian, had felt "that our manners and that the life of our people as a whole did not have, or had few, artistic extremes for the observer to get hold of to write a Russian novel . . ." (*Moskovskii telegraf,* 1825, no. 22, pp. 182–83). The Ukraine's non-Western identity was strong enough to provide a backdrop for indigenous literature.

23 N. V. Gogol', *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii,* 14 vols. (Moscow, 1937–52), 10:142; letter of N. V. to M. I. Gogol, 30 April (1829).

24 See the works of D. Iofanov, *N. V. Gogol' — detskie i iunosheshkie gody* (Kiev, 1951) and Gippius, "'Vechera' . . . Gogolia."

25 G. S. N. Luckyj, *Between Gogol' and Ševčenko: Polarity in the Literary Ukraine, 1798–1847* (Munich, 1971).

26 The terms are applied to Ukrainians in a political sense in Kohut, "Abolition of Ukrainian Autonomy," especially pp. 281–319.

Luckyj admits that "Such formulation of this cultural divergence is ours.... Although they [Gogol and Shevchenko] were not unaware of the conflict, they were not as conscious of it as were their successors or as we are today."[27] At the center of Luckyj's study lies the Ukraine itself and the origins of the modern Ukrainian literary trdition. The author only alludes to the larger theme of the way in which "the alliance between the Ukrainian intellectuals and Russian power revitalized Russia."[28] Luckyj recognized that the imperial government's advocacy of *narodnost'* fostered local as well as "imperial" nationalism, thus contributing to the revivification of the Ukraine,[29] but he failed to discuss the larger question, namely, where Russian concern for *narodnost'* came from in the first place. In the latter context, the Ukraine was not merely a responsive, but a motive force, making perhaps the vital contribution to the central issue of the day. The distinction Luckyj makes between two sorts of Ukrainian writer certainly existed, but beyond it there was another dimension, the part played by the Ukraine in giving Russian intellectuals something to think about other than French enlightenment or German romanticism. In *Severnaia pchela* Ushakov began his review by noting the "local patriotism" of Ukrainians, but he saw it as a thing of the past, enshrined in the works of Kotliarevs'kyi, Hulak-Artemovs'kyi, and the journal *Ukrainskii vestnik*. It had been superseded, in his view, by the new "Little Russian school," with its emphasis on the broader meaning of *narodnost'*.[30] The reviewer was wrong to say that the time of the "local patriots" was past — Shevchenko's *Kobzar* would appear in 1840, nearly a decade later; but in focusing his review on a question of general, rather than local interest, he was only helping Ukrainians, even "locally patriotic" Ukrainians, along a road they were for the most part very happy to follow.[31]

[27] Luckyj, *Between Gogol' and Ševčenko*, p. 7. The "successors" of Gogol and Shevchenko, to whom Luckyj refers, included P. A. Kulish and M. A. Maksymovych, who in 1861–1862, in the journals *Osnova* and *Den'*, respectively, differed on whether the *Vechera* accurately reflected Ukrainian life. Thirty years earlier, discussion of the *Vechera* turned to a much greater extent on the stories' significance for "Russian-imperial," rather than Ukrainian, identity.

[28] Luckyj, *Between Gogol' and Ševčenko*, p. 12.

[29] Luckyj, *Between Gogol' and Ševčenko*, p. 36.

[30] *Severnaia pchela*, 1831, no. 219, p. 1.

[31] Ukrainians had published relatively little in their native tongue since the appearance of Kotliarevs'kyi's *Eneida* in 1798. The journals *Ukrainskii vestnik* and *Ukrainskii zhurnal*, for example (1816–19 and 1824–25, respectively), contained relatively little material in Ukrainian, although they were published in the Ukraine. *Ukrainskii al'manakh*, a collection published in Kharkiv in 1831, however, contained more; it was praised by Nadezhdin in *Teleskop* 5 (1831): 104–106. The editor of the Moscow-based *Vestnik Evropy*, publishing some "Malorossiiskie anekdoty" in 1822 (no. 21, pp. 61–

Consideration of Tsarynnyi, author of the lengthy review of the *Vechera* in *Syn otechestva,* reveals to what extent even a "true" Ukrainian was committed to the cause of the Ukraine only within a broader, imperial, and ultimately pan-Slavic context. The review indicted Gogol, or, rather, the unknown author of the *Vechera,* for failing to grasp the peculiar flavor of Ukrainian life. For none but a Ukrainian, or at least no one who had not lived in the Ukraine, could understand its unique character:

There are of course writers who by their works make difficult the solution of the question: is it absolutely necessary to live in a certain region to know the manners, customs, and beliefs of its people? But such phoenixes are the products of centuries of development [*rodiatsia vekami*]. While impatiently awaiting such a genius, it seems that as yet we are unable, without leaving the capital, to study the popular life of the highly varied inhabitants of our extensive fatherland, whose customs constitute a whole course of study, necessary for the cleverest of them [i.e., writers].[32]

The author of the *Vechera,* Tsarynnyi argued, had taken on too much, as had so many others who had attempted to capture the spirit of the Ukraine in literature:

Little Russia, as the old proverb there says — "Catch it or not, there's no harm in chasing" — has attracted into the archive of its traditions and into the vale of its present-day life-style many contemporary poets and prose writers: but the efforts at descriptive poetry and at the delineation of nationality have not entirely succeeded.[33]

Tsarynnyi was apparently expressing extreme particularism, virtually denying that it was possible for Russians, among whom he included Gogol, to understand the Ukraine. Elsewhere in his review he meted out liberal blame and very sparing praise to the sundry other works on the Ukraine, some of them by Ukrainians, which were appearing in the late 1820s and 1830s. Pushkin's *Poltava* got short shrift; *Malorossiiskaia derevnia* by Kulzhyns'kyi (Kulzhinskii), which claimed to be an accurate social survey, was criticized for technical error; Hrebinka could not be Ukrainian because he used the Russian name Grebenkin; the ode on the capture of Warsaw by Bais'kyj (Baiskii) was in bad Ukrainian; *Monastyrka* by Pohoril's'kyi (Pogorel'skii) had raised hopes but its sequel was

---

68, and no. 22, pp. 157–62), claimed that "the Little Russians' dialect (*narechie*) was no longer to be found merely in printed books, but also on the stage in both capitals" (no. 21, p. 61 fn.); in 1827, however, in introducing Hulak-Artemovs'kyi's *Tvardovskii: Malorossiiskaia ballada,* the editor wrote that "the southern Russians (*iuzhnye Rusiny*) can in general boast only of the very beginnings of literature" (*Vestnik Evropy,* 1827, no. 6, p. 120).

32 Tsarynnyi, *Mysli malorossiianina,* p. 6.

33 Tsarynnyi, *Mysli malorossiianina,* p. 9.

yet to appear; and only *Bursak* by Narizhnyi (Narezhnyi) passed muster.[34] Gogol himself, meanwhile, was taken to task on linguistic, sociological, and historical grounds.[35]

Here, then, was a severe critic, a man who could run through all the contemporary "Ukrainian" literature and find none of it up to the mark. Yet Tsarynnyi was far from being only a Ukrainian nationalist. His real name was Andrii Storozhenko,[36] and during a career in government service he became one of the greatest of Russian imperialists. Six months after writing his extensive review of the *Vechera* he was appointed to serve under Paskevich in Warsaw, and then spent most of the 1830s and 1840s policing Poland and striving to turn the Poles from their pernicious separatist tendencies. As his biographer points out, the thread running through Storozhenko's activities was "his own brand of patriotism . . . sparing nothing in the name of the interests . . . of the dominant nationality."[37] So hard was he on the Poles that when he returned to the Ukraine Storozhenko found himself unpopular with his fellow countrymen. Perhaps his reputation for severity had got back to them, and perhaps by the late 1840s there existed a new sense of independence in the Ukraine, making such a strict "integrator" unwelcome. Storozhenko chose to live out his days in Odessa and Kiev, rather than on his estate amid those people whose ethnic appeal he had so lauded in the review of the *Vechera*.[38]

It might be argued that hostility towards the Poles was a characteristic of Left-Bank Ukrainians and that in his "imperialist" activities in Warsaw Storozhenko was doing no more than manifesting a Ukrainian identity. Certainly some Ukrainians were excited by the fall of Warsaw in 1831 precisely because they saw it as just retribution for the way in which their forebears had suffered at the hands of the Poles. Porfiryi Bais'kyi introduced pure anti-Polish propaganda into the notes to the two poems which he published under the title *Golos ukraintsa pri vesti o vziatii Varshavy*:[39] "The injustices with which the Poles oppressed the Little

[34] Tsarynnyi, *Mysli malorossiianina*, pp. 4–5, 9–10, 69, 71, 11, 10–11.
[35] Tsarynnyi, *Mysli malorossiianina*, pp. 21, 49, 55–51.
[36] Masanov, *Slovar' psevdonimov*, 3:223. I owe to Mr. V. Swoboda the observation that Tsarynnyi and Storozhenko are virtually synonyms, both having the connotation of "guard" or "watchman."
[37] V. Krokos, "Storozhenko, Andrei Iakovlevich," in *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*, vol. 19 (St. Petersburg, 1909), pp. 446–47.
[38] Krokos, "Storozhenko."
[39] P. Baiskii (Bais'kyi), *Golos ukraintsa pri vesti o vziatii Varshavy* (St. Petersburg, 1831).

Russians . . . were the basis for that just popular (*narodnoi*) hatred whose traces exist to this day in Little Russia. . . . It is strange that the present-day Poles could have dreamt of Little Russia voluntarily joining them!"[40] Storozhenko felt the same way about the Poles as Bais'kyi did. In 1831 he published in *Russkii invalid* a poem enthusing over the fall of Warsaw and the crushing, in the name of the empire, of the Polish revolt.[41] In his reports on the Poles after 1831 he repeatedly spoke of their potential disloyalty and of the need for constant vigilance in the light of the Polish nationalist propaganda being published outside the frontiers of Russia, in Poznań and Galicia.[42]

But Storozhenko was more than a Ukrainian who hated the Poles. He was a pan-Slavist who believed that the Poles should give up their evil ways for the sake of the Slavic world as a whole. Though his critique of the *Vechera* appears particularist, his vision was broad. He adumbrated his philosophy in a paper of 1845:

> In Europe there are only three main branches of people: the Latins, the Germans, and the Slavs. . . . At the present time the Slavs and the Germans have set about searching out their *narodnost'* with indefatigable energy, defining the boundaries between them, opening up and pointing out the places of the former dwellings of their tribes, and eliciting the reasons for the change or the transformation of some into others.[43]

In this battle between Slavs and Germans the Poles' only hope of preserving their *narodnost',* in Storozhenko's view, was to seek the closest possible union with the Russians.[44] It was useless to imagine, he argued, that Poland could have survived as an independent political force when it lacked the natural frontiers to make it impervious to attack: "If the Poles have not yet completely erased in themselves the sense of Slavic oneness [*Slavianskuiu edinoplemennost'*]," would it not be better for them to try and unite with Russia, rather than submit to the influence of the alien peoples to the west?[45]

Storozhenko was discussing what was perhaps the greatest problem for pan-Slavists — how to bring the Poles into the fold. Catholic, Western-oriented, and revolutionary, the Poles were the viper in Russia's bosom.[46]

[40] Baiskii, *Golos ukraintsa,* p. 12.
[41] Krokos, "Storozhenko," p. 446.
[42] *Chteniia v Obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh* (hereafter *ChOIDR*), 1870, no. 4: "Smes'," pp. 177–207, especially pp. 179, 182.
[43] A. Ia. Storozhenko, "Ubezhdenie," *ChOIDR,* 1871, no. 2: "Smes'," p. 86.
[44] Storozhenko, "Ubezhdenie," p. 89.
[45] Storozhenko, "Ubezhdenie," pp. 88–89.
[46] On the difference between the Polish and the Russian view of the world see, e.g., A.

To secure their full inclusion in the Slavic world, Storozhenko looked to St. Petersburg. His love of the Ukraine and his concern, expressed in the review of the *Vechera,* that it be accurately depicted in literature take on a non-particularist significance in the context of his wider philosophy. He wanted his homeland properly understood so that the empire as a whole would benefit from the greater understanding. His attitude towards the Poles makes it clear that his goal was not division of the Slavic world, but a deeper interrelationship between the center and the peripheries. Though he approached the problem differently, he was no less anxious than the *Severnaia pchela* reviewer to enlarge the notion of Russian *narodnost'.*

In 1839 Storozhenko wrote to Mykola Markevych explaining his recent purchase of an estate in the Ukraine. He gave his correspondent the details in order to reassure him

> that I have never thought of living anywhere in my old age far from our native Little Russia. Our sky, — our plains as they grow green, our enormous villages with their carefree, — good-hearted, — true Christians, — possess such charm for me, — that even the *Tsarina*[47] seems a place of refuge to me. — And as for poetic antiquity: — as for the historical memories; as for Kiev and the Dnieper: how many subjects are there there, which plunge one into thought?[48]

This was apparently the particularist gospel again, the gospel of a man totally committed to his native soil. Storozhenko invited Markevych to visit him on his estate in the summer, promising to tell him "certain historical facts about southern Russia" and to relate "where it is possible to find what is sought in vain in the north."[49] Markevych was preparing his *History of Little Russia,* which was to appear in 1842, and Storozhenko offered him advice on context and setting. He wanted Markevych to turn away from Karamzin's portrayal, in which the south was not given the precedence it deserved. But despite his enthusiasm for the Ukraine, Storozhenko was not advocating a particularist presentation. He urged Markevych to set his *History* in the context of the Slavs at large: "Kiev and the banks of the Dnieper, in my view, — are the cradle of the Slavo-Russians (*Slaviano-Rossov* [sic])."[50] Storozhenko went on to speak,

---

Walicki, "The Paris Lectures of Mickiewicz and Russian Slavophilism," *Slavonic and East European Review* 46 (1968): 155–75.

47 The word which probably lay behind Storozhenko's chosen pseudonym of 1831–1832.

48 Institut russkoi literatury (Pushkinskii dom), Manuscript Division, *fond* 488, no. 64, folio 1, letter from Storozhenko to Markevych, Warsaw, 5/17 May 1839. Punctuation as in the original; the question mark at the end of the quotation must be rhetorical.

49 Storozhenko to Markevych, folio 1, 5/17 May 1839.

50 Storozhenko to Markevych, folio 1, 5/17 May 1839.

not about the Ukraine proper, but about the medieval principality or kingdom of Galicia, hitherto seen only as "a fine historical episode," but worthy of a larger place in the history books. He had recently received information on the subject from a scholar in Austrian Galicia, and was clearly casting his net far beyond the Ukraine. He concluded his letter to Markevych with the recommendation not to publish a history of the Ukraine without having been "between the Dnieper and the Elbe."[51] While expressing his local patriotism, then, Storozhenko spoke also of the Slavs as a whole. Ukrainians, he believed, were indissolubly connected with their Slavic brethren. The antithesis was not between the Ukraine and Russia, but between Slavs and non-Slavs; or, more exactly, between those who accurately represented Slavic *narodnost'* and those who did not.

Narodnost' lay at the heart of the matter for both of Gogol's principal reviewers of 1831. They were concerned not so much with the *Vechera* per se as with the stories' implications for the definition of this vital concept. The reviewers' disagreement about the stories' merit turned on their different views of the extent to which the author succeeded in handling the central problem. Storozhenko was not, after all, wholly critical of Gogol. When, for example, Gogol described the meeting between Rozumovs'kyi's messenger and a Zaporozhian who had sold his soul to the devil, he considered the incident to be "related excellently, in the expressions of the people (*v vyrazheniiakh narodnykh*), and with the observation of popular beliefs not omitted."[52] Sometimes, then, Gogol came up to the mark, but on the whole Storozhenko was a much sterner judge than Ushakov, because he had his own much clearer and fuller notion of what *narodnost'* meant. For the St. Petersburg reviewer anything which portrayed the empire's grassroots helped to offset the pernicious influence of foreigners. The way in which it was done did not much matter. Storozhenko, however, saw a wider range of possibilities in a work treating the life of a particular part of the empire.

Storozhenko was hostile to the *Vechera* on social rather than on Ukrainian nationalist grounds. He wanted readers to see the common people in fictional works dealing with the Ukraine, so that they might understand not simply that Russia was different from the West, but in what ways and by virtue of which elements in the community. He criti-

[51] Storozhenko to Markevych, folio 2, 5/17 May 1839.
[52] Tsarynnyi, *Mysli malorossiianina*, p. 61.

cized Gogol for portraying a world of outdated Polonized aristocrats, rather than the common people who truly expressed *narodnost'*. Ukrainians no longer greeted one another (as they did in Gogol's stories) with the title *pan*. If they had once done so, it was only long ago and in the aristocratic layer of society, "when Polish customs still remained in the memory, which have now disappeared in a people which sometimes tries, as we say, to toss off a Muscovite phrase (*zakidyvat' po-Moskovski*)."[53] With the passing of the old Polonized aristocratic order, the cultural orientation of the Ukraine had changed. Gogol, in Storozhenko's view, was misrepresenting it. Storozhenko's social insight was greater than that of Ushakov, the Russian critic who also dealt with contemporary works on Ukrainian themes. The latter saw only the fundamental difference between the northern and southern parts of the empire. Whereas Ushakov realized that the south had much to offer the north, Storozhenko was anxious to define more precisely the nature of the south's contribution to northern culture.

Critics who read Storozhenko's analysis of the *Vechera* were taken aback by the detail he went into. In reviews of the second installment of stories (which appeared six months after the first, in early 1832), they commented on the responses to the first collection. Polevoi, who had clearly been put right about Gogol's identity and who gave the new stories slightly more favorable treatment than he had given the first four, mocked the "whole book" which had been published about Gogol's deviations from Ukrainian life. Others might speak ill of his, Polevoi's, uncharitable attitude towards the *Vechera*, but personally he found amusing the accusations of local inaccuracy directed (by Storozhenko) at an author who was not writing a "course of archaeology" or a "topography of the Little Russian region."[54] The reviewer in *Severnaia pchela*, too, though praising the second installment of stories, wrote more briefly than in 1831 and joked that more was unnecessary. "Not initiated into the mysteries of Little Russianism," he merely thanked the "Bee-keeper" for his stories, "In the expectation that severe Ukrainian critics will investigate and assess this new production of their fellow countryman." Despite the undertone of laughter, the reviewer clearly expected detailed treatment of the new work from someone else, and he repeated the fundamental point made in the earlier review: "We have so little of even a mediocre quality of our own, that what we have which is good we must put higher than what is

53 Tsarynnyi, *Mysli malorossiianina*, p. 49.
54 *Moskovskii telegraf*, 1832, no. 6, pp. 262, 265–66.

foreign which is excellent."[55] Gogol's work was worthy of encouragement because it stimulated the growth of a sense of *narodnost'*.

To this extent the critics agreed about the significance of *Vechera na khutore bliz Dikan'ki*. They had different understandings of the term *narodnost'*, but they were glad that, as a result of the appearance of Gogol's stories, it had been brought more firmly into the public eye. Nadezhdin, later a "Westerner,"[56] in the early 1830s still relished the thought that a pristine Slavic culture had been preserved inviolate in the Ukraine, and that through the medium of Gogol's stories it was being made accessible to the empire as a whole. His review of the first part of the *Vechera* summarized why the Ukraine played such a prominent part in the thinking of many Russian intellectuals in the first half of the nineteenth century:

> Some sort of secret agreement recognizes her as the Slavic Ausonia and senses in her an abundant harvest for inspiration . . . both her geographical situation and historical circumstances have disposed Little Russia to be the most festive expression of the poetry of the Slavic spirit. . . . Little Russia was naturally bound to become the Ark of the Covenant (*zavetnym kovchegom*), in which are preserved the most lively features of the Slavic physiognomy and the best memories of Slavic life.[57]

University of Newcastle upon Tyne

[55] *Severnaia pchela*, 1832, no. 59 (12 March). The reviewer may not have been Ushakov, as in September 1831, since the review was unsigned.
[56] But see F. Ia. Priima, "N. I. Nadezhdin i slaviane," in *Slavianskie literaturnye sviazi*, ed. M. P. Alekseev (Leningrad, 1968), pp. 5–28.
[57] *Teleskop* 5 (1831):559–60.

Kievlianin and the Jews: A Decade of Disillusionment, 1864–1873*

JOHN D. KLIER

During the first period of its rule over the Ukrainian and Belorussian lands that came into the empire after the partitions of Poland, the Russian government left all matters of administration in the hands of the Polish gentry. At the time, the intellectual center of these territories was Vilnius, where a university had been established at the beginning of the nineteenth century. With the shock of the first Polish uprising of 1830–1831, however, the Russian government realized that Polish intellectual life could endanger the empire politically. In 1834, the university that existed at Vilnius was closed, and a university at Kiev was established in its place; at the new university, Russian, not Polish, was the language of instruction. It took the second major Polish uprising, of 1863, along with the appearance of a new, university-educated Polish intelligentsia, for the Russian authorities to decide to end Polish intellectual primacy on the Ukrainian and Belorussian lands under their control. It was in the 1860s, too, that the Jewish Question became prominent on the all-imperial level, because the majority of Jews lived on these territories, now of special concern to the government authorities.

The result was a unique compromise between the Russian imperial government and representatives of the local conservative intelligentsia, who supported imperial policies. The government assisted the founding of Kievlianin *by alloting the newspaper an annual subsidy of 6,000 rubles. A professor at the University of St. Vladimir in Kiev, Vitalii Ia. Shul'gin (1822–1878), became its first editor in 1864. He was succeeded by his younger colleague, economist Dimitri Pykhno (1850–1913), editor from 1878 to 1911, and by Vitalii's son, Vasilii (b. 1878), editor from 1911 to 1917.*

The founding of the journal coincided with the aftermath of the emancipation of the serfs in 1861. With the legislation that legally recognized millions of former serfs as human beings came the aggravation of the so-called Ukrainian Question. The conservative wing of the gentry intelligentsia, frightened by what the emancipation might mean, initiated and supported anti-Ukrainian, or anti-peasant, action and the ukases of 1863 and 1876. Nevertheless, there were exceptions, for

* Research for this article was assisted by grants from the Graduate Research Committee at Fort Hays State University, from the University of Illinois Summer Research Institute, from the Fulbright-Hays Fellowship program and from participation in the International Research and Exchanges Board's Graduate Student/Young Faculty exchange with the Soviet Union.

instance, Vitalii Shul'gin's brother, Mykola, progenitor of the Ukrainian branch of the family, which later produced the historians Iakiv and Oleksander Shul'hyn.

Kievlianin *was founded to foster imperially-approved concepts about the Ukrainian and the Jewish questions. Professor Klier's paper traces the first stage in* Kievlianin*'s attitude toward the Jews, when the imperial elite was not yet certain what to do about the questions and so was experimenting with different attitudes and approaches. — The Editors.*

In Hans Christian Andersen's story "A Drop of Water," a savant examines a drop of common ditch-water under the newly invented miscroscope. The view through the lens is disappointing and alarming: clarity vanishes, and the savant finds human society writ small, a tiny Copenhagen of denizens all engaged in mutual torture and extermination. This fable of the conjunction of knowledge and disillusionment serves as an appropriate metaphor for the development of attitudes in the Russian press and society on the Jewish Question in the first two decades of the reign of Alexander II.[1] In this case, too, common assumptions and beliefs fell victim to a harsh and unexpected reality.

It is no surprise that the Jewish minority was "discovered" by the press during this period. In the years following the Crimean War, Alexander II's government was engaged in the rapid dismantlement of the most repressive legal measures devised for the Jews by the previous regime. The burdensome "cantonist" system, which provided for the drafting of underage Jewish recruits into the army in lieu of adults, was abolished in 1856, and a series of reforms begun in 1859 seemed to promise the virtual elimination of the restrictive Pale of Settlement. Reflecting these changes, and buoyed by the enthusiasm of the early days of the era of the Great Reforms, the mood of the press was marked by a pronounced Judeophilia. In 1858, for example, over one hundred prominent Russian men of letters came to the defense of two Russian-Jewish writers who had been insulted by the feuilletonist of the newspaper *Illiustratsiia*.[2] In 1861 the

[1] More accurate, perhaps, would be to speak of the Jewish Questions, since policy makers were forced to deal with the Jews on many different levels. For instance, socially, there was the question of the influence of the Jews, good or bad, upon native Russians; the "separatism" of the Jews and their willingness to integrate or assimilate; the extent to which Jews could or should be reformed. Politically, there was debate on whether the Jews should have the same civil rights as corresponding classes of Christians. Economically, the extent of Jewish influence in the towns and in the peasant countryside were major considerations. Religiously, there was concern about the threat of Jewish proselytism, and the extent to which the Russian government should attempt to control Jewish religious life through the rabbiniate. Clearly, the problems involved were enormous.

[2] John D. Klier, "The *Illiustratsiia* Affair of 1858: Polemics on the Jewish Question in the Russian Press," *Nationalities Papers* 5, no. 2 (Fall 1977): 117–35.

press sided with the Russian-Jewish newspaper *Sion* against the Ukrainophile journal *Osnova* in a debate over the worthiness of Russia's Jewish citizens.

In retrospect it may seem inevitable that this Judeophilia would disintegrate in the mid-1860s, as it became increasingly obvious that the gordian knot of social, economic, and religious elements which comprised the Jewish Question would not be easily cut by the sword of enlightened education. The new journalistic organs of the 1860s, such as the influential and prestigious *Golos* of A. A. Kraevskii, soon made Jew-baiting an essential part of editorial policy. Ironically another journalistic newcomer, which would one day rival A. S. Suvorin's *Novoe vremia* for pride of place among the Russian Judeophobe press, began its existence by offering a mildly sympathetic and even-handed view of the Jews. This newspaper was *Kievlianin.*

Kievlianin merits attention for more than its roundabout passage to Judeophobia. It was one of the new breed of vigorous and articulate provincial newspapers that appeared regularly until the demise of the Old Regime. Moreover, the paper served as a semi-official organ of the Russian governor-general of the Ukraine (the empire's southwestern gubernias), and thus a review of the evolution of *Kievlianin*'s attitudes towards the Jews provides a window on official thinking. (It should be noted at once, however, that there was no consensus among Russian bureaucrats in the 1860s on the Jewish Question, and no official policy which *Kievlianin* was expected to support. Furthermore, although closely tied to local officialdom, the newspaper did voice opinions that attracted the displeasure of the central censorship.) Finally, a consideration of *Kievlianin*'s editorial policies permits some characterizations to be made of public attitudes toward the Jews in Russia in general, and in the Ukraine in particular.

Kievlianin was one of a series of "Russifying" press organs established in the "Western borderlands" (the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Lithuania) and in Poland after the unsuccessful Polish uprising of 1863. Russification was directed primarily against the Poles and aimed at the destruction of Polish economic and cultural influence in the Ukraine, Lithuania, and Belorussia, and at integrating these areas more closely into the imperial system of government. Poles were forbidden to buy land in these areas, for example, and the Polish language was prohibited for bureaucratic or educational uses. True to its calling, the Russifying press fought a continual battle against all things Polish: the Polish émigrés, the magnates, the *szlachta,* and the Uniate and Roman Catholic churches. The press

was also obliged to direct some attention to the emergent national consciousness of local populations such as the Ukrainians, generally in support of such measures as the restriction on the use of Ukrainian or the destruction of the Uniate church. (The motivation behind the government's actions was not so much the fear of national consciousness as such, but rather the fear that such manifestations were a divisive trick spawned by the Poles.)[3] The consideration of any national minority policy in the Russo-Polish borderlands mandated some consideration of the Jews, for these areas comprised the Jewish Pale of Settlement, that territory where restrictive laws on movement and occupation had encapsulated the majority of the Jewish population. Nor were the Jews an insignificant minority: according to the census of 1897, Jews constituted over 10 percent of the population of the Ukraine.[4] Significant for more than their numbers, the Jews dominated important segments of the regional economy, especially in trade and handicrafts. All parties to the Russo-Polish struggle in the borderlands recognized the real and potential political significance of the Jews. Between the revolutions of 1830 and 1863, many Poles had assiduously courted the Jews as collaborators in the national movement, and young Jewish intellectuals found themselves welcome in Polish circles, both social and conspiratorial, as "Poles of the Mosaic Faith."[5] After the liquidation of the 1863 uprising, publicists began to advocate that the Jews be won over to the Russian side and be put to use as a Russifying force.

It was against this background that *Kievlianin* was founded in Kiev in July 1864 by a professor of history at the city's university, Vitalii Iakovlevich Shul'gin (1822–1878). His project had an annual subsidy of 6,000 rubles from the office of the Kiev governor-general. (Shul'gin would serve continuously as editor until he took an extended trip abroad at the end of 1873.) From the start there was no ambiguity as to the newspaper's editorical stance: "Kiev was, is, and shall remain Russian," trumpeted Shul'gin in his first editorial on 1 July 1864. Likewise, in a subsequent debate in 1872 over a suitable location for the famous statue of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi, Shul'gin praised the monument as an appropriate symbol of "Russian authority" (*russkaia vlast'*).[6]

[3] For a brief treatment of Ukrainian-Polish relations in the early 1860s see Wasyl Luciw, *Ukrainians and the Polish Revolt of 1863* (New Haven, Conn., 1961).
[4] Piotr S. Wandycz, *The Lands of Partitioned Poland* (Seattle, 1974), pp. 247–48.
[5] For the impact of these efforts on young Jews and their growing enthusiasm for the Polish national movement, see L. O. Levanda's novel *Goriachee vremia* (St. Petersburg, 1875).
[6] The design approved by Shul'gin differed from the statue which now stands across

Nevertheless, at first Shul'gin displayed no special interest in the Jewish Question in the Ukraine or in Russia generally. One reason may be that the impact on the southwestern economy and society (including the Jews) of the peasants' emancipation and of the economic changes typified by widespread railroad construction was only beginning to be felt. Moreover, Shul'gin seems still to have been under the spell of the vague Judeophilia of the 1850s. Certainly *Kievlianin*'s first articles on the Jewish Question, which appeared early in the paper's existence, reflected that legacy in their preoccupation with the social panaceas of education and enlightenment. These first articles were all written by Jews, and thus brought Shul'gin into contact with a Jewish type he would soon come to despise — the so-called Jewish progressive.

Almost every Jewish publicist at this time was a "progressive," a partisan in some way of the Haskalah, or Jewish enlightenment movement.[7] The European enlightenment had convinced these Jews that the road to a better future for Russian Jewry led through the schoolroom door. But this school was not to be the *heder,* the traditional institution for Jewish religious instruction in which the teacher (*melamed*) instructed the young in the intricacies of Jewish law. Rather, the schooling would encompass secular subjects, the most important being the Russian language. Greater knowledge and use of Russian by Jews would have myriad benefits: by widening their intellectual vistas, it would strike at obscurantism, particularly at the credulous beliefs of the Hassidic community;[8] it would speed the inculcation of "Russian" virtues (chiefly the love of hard work) among the Jewish population; consequently, it would expedite Jews' integration into Russian society.

The problem was that a secular Russian-Jewish school system already existed, created by the government of Nicholas I in 1844 and supported by various taxes assessed from the Jewish community. This system had serious flaws, however (partly from attempting to include religious instruction in the curriculum), and it had never won wide acceptance within

---

from St. Sophia's in Kiev. It portrayed Khmel'nyts'kyi's horse trampling on a Polish *pan* and a Jewish lease-holder. A model of the original design may be seen in the Russian Museum in Leningrad.

7 *Kievlianin* was in no way unique in this respect. For the activities of Jewish publicists at this time, see my "The Jewish Question in the Reform Era Russian Press, 1855-1865," *Russian Review* 39, no. 3 (1980):301-319.

8 Hasidism (or Hassidism) was a popular religious movement which had its origins in the Jewish communities of the Ukraine in the eighteenth century. The movement was characterized by mysticism, ecstatic rites, and a charismatic leadership.

Jewish society. Thus, articles that appeared in *Kievlianin* typically assumed the desirability of a secular education but differed as to how the existing school system might best be reformed. For example, a vigorous debate took place between Jewish pedagogues over the possibility and desirability of converting the state-run Jewish secondary school in Berdichev into a Russian *pro-gimnaziia.* Several articles argued that the time had come to convert the state Jewish schools into public schools in which Christian and Jew might study side by side. These arguments drew a strong rebuke from a correspondent named Fridlander, who argued that the state Jewish schools, although perceived as flawed, still had more of the community's confidence than would completely public schools. Moreover, whatever their defects, the state Jewish schools served to direct the young student towards more secular schooling in the future.[9] The debate continued in 1865, especially with the publication of a critical report on the state Jewish school system by an inspector from the Ministry of Public Education. At one point, in fact, Shul'gin announced that he had sufficient material to publish issues devoted exclusively to the Jewish Question or, more specifically, to this single aspect of it.[10] This torrent of contributions is not surprising. The Jewish progressives tended to be alienated from the Jewish masses and so from a wider audience. Attempts to create a specifically Jewish Russian-language paper, such as *Rassvet/Sion* in 1860–1861, had foundered on public apathy.[11] Thus Jewish progressives eagerly sought any available forum. As a periodical devoted to local interests in an area of heavy Jewish settlement, *Kievlianin* seemed to be appropriate. But admission to this forum was not gratis. The price extracted was Shul'gin's critical evaluation of the Jewish intelligentsia's efforts and aspirations.

Kievlianin carried two major editorials on the Jewish Question in 1864 that defined the paper's initial positions. The first, "Vopros ob obrazo-

[9] The first articles to raise the question appeared in no. 6 (14 July 1864), N. Gornberg, "Zametka o pro-gimnazii v g. Berdicheve," and no. 8 (18 July 1864), K. Shchukin, "K voprosu o evreiskom obrazovanii." Fridlander's lengthy reply, "Nuzhna li pro-gimnaziia v Berdicheve?" appeared in nos. 20 and 21 (15 and 18 August 1864).

[10] No. 55 (15 May 1865).

[11] See Alexander Orbach, "The Russian Jewish Press of Odessa, 1860–71; Towards the Secularization of Jewish Culture in Tsarist Russia" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin at Madison, 1975), pp. 35–76, and his recent article "Jewish Intellectuals in Odessa in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Nationalities Papers* 6, no. 2 (Fall 1978): 109–124. The classic study of the Russian-Jewish press is S. L. Tsinberg, *Istoriia evreiskoi pechati v Rossii v sviazi s obshchestvennymi techeniiami* (Petrograd, 1915). A recent important study is Yehuda Slutsky, *Ha-Itonut Ha-Yehudit-Rusit Ba-Mea Ha-Tsha-Esre* [The Russian-Jewish Press in the Nineteenth Century] (Jerusalem, 1970).

vanii evreev" (no. 24, for 25 August 1864), was ostensibly a comment on the debate among Jewish publicists about the state Jewish secondary school in Berdichev. It was a good thing, noted the editoralist, that all the participants in the debate seemed motivated by the same imperative — the need for the rapprochement (*sblizhenie*) of the Jews with Russian society. But how, in fact, did the Jews understand the term *sblizhenie,* and did they differentiate between superficial and essential rapprochement? The editorialist of 25 August posed the question thus:

> Should it (*sblizhenie*) be the consequence of the granting to the Jews of those external rights which would open to some of them entry into all sorts of service and public activities, equally with other members of [imperial] Russian society; or [should it be] the consequence of an internal equalization of feelings and outlooks which integrate enlightened people of all nations, and of that commonality of interests and aspirations which unify all the citizens of one state. It seems that for complete and decisive rapprochement external equalization of rights and internal equalization of outlooks and aspirations are necessary. Unfortunately, the majority of Jewish publicists heatedly seek integration of the first sort and pay little attention to the second. It seems to them that for the rapprochement of Jews and Russians there is needed only a stroke of a pen which would equalize the rights of the first with the latter, and they forget to think seriously and dispassionately about those measures which would ready them internally for mutual rapprochement. It seems to us that the matter of rapprochement of Jews with Russians has still not accomplished much if annually our schools produce some scores of enlightened Jews who, receiving different positions, disappear into our official world, while the mass of the Jewish population for the present remains in their secluded world, separated from Russian society by the exclusiveness ruling their outlooks and conceptions. . . . Only the extension of education to the Jewish masses, only a consciousness of a commonality of civil interests can bring the rapprochement of Jews and Russians, as no equalization or rights and privileges can.

Kievlianin expressed concern that Jewish publicists, in their focus on the removal of "useless restraints and impediments" from the minority, had forgotten the plight and the interests of the majority. The editorialist continued:

> Let the enlightened Jewish publicists not forget [if they truly desire the common good] that for the thousands of resentful and suffering (*strazhdushchii*) Jewish people, there are to be found a hundred thousand still more resentful and suffering Russians, a people who are gentle, honorable, diligent, uncomplainingly carrying on their shoulders the many contradictions of our life and by their hardships making available more and more; that true rapprochement ought to be based on a mutual easing of burdens, on mutual feeling and respect, and that for such rapprochement the spreading of education and humane feeling among the masses of the Jewish population is more important than the expansion of the circle of activities for educated Jews in Russian society.

In thus defining the problem, Shul'gin was explicitly criticizing the formulas offered by the Jewish publicists who had published the first Russian-Jewish newspaper, *Rassvet*, in 1860. As its editor, O. A. Rabinovich, had argued, the Jews were entitled to equal rights, and these were not contingent on the total reform of Jewish life. Rather, reform would follow upon these rights.[12] This principle would be a central argument of the Jewish intellectuals who founded *Den'* in 1869, and journalistic contention was thereby guaranteed.

In 1859 Jewish merchants (*kuptsy*) of the First Guild were permitted to reside in Kiev. There followed an influx of 8,000 Jewish residents, only a few score of whom actually satisfied the fiscal requirements for *kupets* status. Periodically the Kiev police undertook a desultory expulsion of the illegal immigrants. One such attempt at the end of 1864 prompted an editorial which summarized *Kievlianin*'s initial view of the Jews. The editorial (no. 36, for 22 September 1864) drew an analogy between the politically harmful Polish population in the Ukraine and the economically harmful Jewish population there. It was paradoxical, the editorial argued, that the government endeavored to thin out the Polish population in the southwest while increasing the Jewish population. The anti-Jewish quarantine of the empire's interior (Russian) gubernias left the Jews harmfully concentrated in the southwest. How illogical to restrict the Jews from the Russian interior, where they would vanish "like a drop in the sea" and where they would encounter vigorous competition from the established Russian trade class.

On the one hand, *Kievlianin*'s editorial scarcely flattered the Jews: it presumed that they exploited the local peasant population and that they effectively destroyed business competition from gentiles. Justice demanded that this evil be spread through Russia, so that the main burden would not continue to fall upon the Ukraine. On the other hand, *Kievlianin* did not anticipate economic ruination and destruction wherever the Jews resettled. The implications were obvious: the Jewish Question arose from the maldistribution of segments of the population and it could be easily solved by redistribution — an argument Jewish apologists had been making for years. There was no inherent evil in the Jews' nature which would infect all places where they resided. In this call for the virtual

[12] See *Rassvet*, no. 6, p. 85, for an editorial statement of this position. Orbach, in "Russian-Jewish Press," points out that this attitude was not shared by the paper's co-editor, J. Tarnopol, who believed that the Jews must be readied for the prerogatives of citizenship. Orbach characterizes Tarnopol's approach as "pragmatic" and Rabinovich's as "ideological": ibid., pp. 45–47, 52–53.

elimination of the Jewish Pale of Settlement, *Kievlianin* directly criticized the clumsiness and brutality displayed by the police in their expulsion of illegally settled Jews, strongly implying that they should be allowed to stay, at least temporarily.[13] The editorial closed with an excerpt from the work of the liberal I. K. Babst, reprinted from the short-lived journal *Atenei*:

. . . . it is necessary to seek out the basic principle of a social ill, and to eradicate it, in the same way that raising the level of popular morality is possible, not by bloodthirsty criminal legislation, nor more or less by strict corporal punishment, but by the dissemination among people of a recognition of their rights, a feeling of their own worth, and chiefly — by education. A people, knowing their rights, will of necessity know their obligations.

Kievlianin's ties to the administration of the Ukraine, its role in providing a public forum for the discussion of the Jewish Question, and its concentration on the need for reform and education all came together at the end of 1864. An editorial of 12 November 1864 carried an announcement from the office of the governor-general of the gubernias of Kiev, Podolia, and Volhynia that in effect invited public discussion of the Jewish Question. Two series of questions were proposed: the first series considered what printed literature should (or should not) be made available by the government to the Jews, the second asked for recommendations relative to the reform of the state Jewish school system. Responses were solicited especially from "Learned Jews" (official advisers on Jewish matters in various departments of government), with the promise that replies "worthy of attention" would be reprinted in *Kievlianin.* The sounding out of the ideas of real or self-proclaimed spokesmen for the Jewish community was not new: it was a procedure which frequently had been followed by the reform committees appointed to study the Jewish Question, beginning with the first committee in 1802. What was new was the promise that such proposals would be subjected to the wider analysis of public opinion through the medium of the press.

The hope that this invitation to debate might help to resolve the Jewish Question was not realized. Almost three years later (no. 91, for 1 August 1867) *Kievlianin* published an editorial obituary for this effort. It complained that specific answers had not been forthcoming from the Jewish intelligentsia, although some of their responses had been printed over the

[13] Characteristically, the editor felt constrained to explain later (no. 45, 13 October 1864) that the original article was in no way to be construed as disparaging of the activities of the gubernia administration.

editors' misgivings. These articles were characterized as "overly romantic," filled with wails about medieval persecution and demands not only for equality, but for privilege. *Kievlianin* was more satisfied with a response published by I. S. Aksakov in his newspaper *Moskva.* Aksakov argued that if the Jews truly desired rapprochement and wished to "be Russian," they would abandon their claim to a system of communal autonomy (in the form of the *kahal*) and cease to maintain that a "special Jewish nationality" existed. He summarized:

> . . . the contemporary structure of the Jews constitutes, we repeat, a *status in statu* in the western region, where the wisdom of Polish kings and the Polish *szlachta* strengthened Jewish domination long ago. They agitate for the emancipation of the Jews. The question should be put differently — this is a question not about the emancipation of the Jews, but about the emancipation of the Russian population from the Jews, about the freeing of the Russian people in the west, and partly in the south of Russia, from the Jewish yoke.

Well before this editorial, *Kievlianin* had begun to modify its initial interpretation of the Jewish Question. Throughout 1865 the paper had published a series by one of its Russian contributors, B. Fedorov, which addressed various aspects of the question. These included an analysis of the effect of religious holidays on the productivity of Jewish labor,[14] ways to make Jewish legal oaths more reliable,[15] the state Jewish school system,[16] and the unsatisfactory nature of Jewish work, which emphasized petty trade and hucksterism rather than physical labor.[17]

In these and other articles a new picture of the Jews was beginning to emerge: they were not just the helpless victims of capricious or ill-advised restrictions on mobility and occupation, but a people who as a group, by their own nature or that of their institutions, harmed the native population. The pessimism which would characterize *Kievlianin*'s later attitude towards the Jews was foreshadowed. On 24 July 1865 (no. 86), for example, *Kievlianin* applauded newly enacted laws which forbade the Jews to own land in the western gubernias as part of the Russification program. Initially the editorial's argument seemed to be directed more at non-Russians in general than at Jews: "Political necessity demands Rus-

[14] No. 14 (2 February 1865). This was the echo of a concurrent debate on the accusation that an over-abundance of religious holidays encouraged peasant idleness and drunkenness. By Fedorov's estimate, the Jews compared favorably with the Orthodox peasantry, not only because of a lower number of holidays, but because they celebrated them more soberly.

[15] No. 31 (13 March 1865).

[16] Nos. 44 and 45 (17 and 20 April 1865).

[17] Nos. 122 and 123 (16 and 19 October 1865).

sian landowners here; if Germans lived here in the same numbers, in the same material situation, with such relationships with the Polish and peasant elements, as the Jews now live, then in all truth they, too, would suffer the restriction which has been fixed for the Jews at the present time."

This argument drew a response from a Jew, M. Morgulis (nos. 94 and 95, for 12 and 13 August 1865). He argued against restraints of any kind on trade. Moreover, he presented the Jews as entrepreneurs who could only advance the prosperity of the area, as they had already done by introducing the cultivation of sugar beets. Furthermore, it was the Jews, not the Russians, who had the best opportunity to supplant the Polish landowners in the area, and therefore the Russian government should make the Jews allies in the struggle for Russification.

Kievlianin's response (no. 95, for 14 August 1865) was tinged with hysteria and virtually abandoned both the economic and political arguments. Characterizing Morgulis's article as the definitive statement of the final goals and aspirations of Jews in the Pale, *Kievlianin* decried what it perceived as the surrender to the Jews of lands which were "the cradle of the Russian people, the Russian state, the Russian faith, with their holy historical memories and their population of three million Russian Orthodox." Sooner or later zemstvo institutions and a new court system would be introduced into the western gubernias, with one of two undesirable consequences, predicted *Kievlianin*: either the peasantry would refuse to elect those who were alien to them in faith and nationality, in which case these institutions would be supervised by semi-illiterates, or all aspects of local life would fall under Jewish influence. "This means a regrettable fate for our natal Russian area if, as an inevitable extreme, it befalls us to hand over direction [of it] from that foreign part of our population, which is all the same a Slavic and a Christian intelligentsia, into the hands of aliens (*inoplemenniki*) — and enemies of Christianity in principle!" Russians could not expected to surrender to the Jews with equanimity "our brothers united in blood and faith, flesh of our flesh, blood of our blood":

> Yes, Mr. Morgulis, your plan is very good: the Jews, to be sure, will dislodge the Polish element from western Russia sooner than we. Nonetheless, it seems to us that we will not sin against the wishes of Russian society if we refuse for it the honor granted to Kiev of being the new Jerusalem, and to western Russia, the second Promised Land. History shows that Poland paid too dearly for this honor. . . ."

This sudden appeal to religious and "racial" prejudice, uncharacteristic of

Kievlianin's editorial policy in the 1860s, was a clear foreshadowing of things to come.

By 1867, *Kievlianin* was attacking Jewish "exclusivity" and questioning the sincerity of Jews in pursuit of rapprochement and equal rights (and responsibilities). More and more the paper emphasized the skirting of existing responsibilities and the abuse of privileges. The matter pointed to most frequently was military service, which had always been an integral part of the Jewish Question. The government had exempted all Jews from the army until the reign of Nicholas I; then, going to the opposite extreme, it drafted Jews in a manner calculated to promote religious and cultural assimilation. (The policy's most noxious aspects, including the drafting of underage recruits, were abandoned at the beginning of Alexander II's reign.) In the wake of the emancipation, the government was passing through a series of temporary regulations towards universal military service for all classes. In one temporary measure, a decree of 15 December 1866, the government permitted draftees to hire substitutes for military service. During the late 1860s, *Kievlianin* campaigned vigorously against abuses of this regulation. Specifically, it charged that Jews had become contemporary slavers, recruiting likely victims for a price and serving as middlemen between substitutes and draftees eager to escape service.[18]

Such exposés continued until 1871, when universal military service was announced. *Kievlianin* greeted the news with a mixture of joy and concern — joy that the Jews would now be forced to serve on equal terms with the other inhabitants of the empire, and concern that they would devise ways to avoid the draft. In fact, if articles devoted to the education of the Jews had dominated *Kievlianin*'s early years, the theme of Jewish draft dodging now became a virtual *idée fixe*. There followed two decades of articles which reported with alarm how Jews — or worse, the whole Jewish community — allegedly discovered one means of escape after another.

The most efficacious means of escaping the draft, under any system, was to falsify the revision (census) lists upon which the annual call-ups were based. The extensive confusion and inaccuracy typical in census records of the Jewish community led *Kievlianin* to examine the whole structure of semi-autonomous Jewish society, the *kahal,* which presumably aided and abetted, if not actually directed, this process. Already in 1867 *Kievlianin* was anticipating the publication of more information

[18] See, for example, nos. 13 (28 January 1867), 29 (7 March 1867), 43 (8April 1867) and 44 (11 April 1867).

relating to the vexing question of the organization and operation of the kahal.[19] The material was to appear in *Vilenskii vestnik*, and the author was Iakov Brafman.

Brafman is best known for his work *Kniga kagala*, which purported to be the community record book of the Minsk kahal in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The book buttressed the claim that there existed a gigantic, secret, and illegal network of institutions which ultimately controlled the life of every Russian Jew. These institutions were particularly effective in undermining legislation which in any way weakened the hold of the oligarchic kahal leadership over the Jewish masses and through them exploited the surrounding Christian population. The *Kniga kagala* and its forerunner, *Evreiskie bratsva*, both appeared serially in *Vilenskii vestnik* during 1868 and 1869.

The portrait of a vast Jewish conspiracy provided a convenient frame of reference for all the myriad shortcomings of Jewish society. The Jewish trade in recruits was directed in part by the community leaders, whereas the power of the kahal was used to corrupt officials enforcing the laws on landholding or the liquor trade in the villages and to work against the resettlement of Jewish artisans in other parts of the empire.[20] The theme of Jewish conspiratorial activity culminated in 1873, when *Kievlianin* published its most famous illustration: extensive excerpts from the historical novel of "Sir John Retcliffe" entitled *Evreiskoe kladbishche v Prage*. This work was a prototype of the so-called *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, the widely published accusation that the Jews sought world domination.[21]

Kievlianin's increasingly hostile attitude towards the Jews occasionally drew reproaches from philosemitic representatives of the capital's press, but until 1869 there was no vigorous challenge from the provincial press. On 16 May 1869, however, *Den', organ russkikh evreev* began publication in Odessa; it was edited first by S. S. Ornshtein and later by I. G. Orshanskii. The two papers were, in fact, thesis and antithesis, but this particular dialectic gave rise to contention and polemics, not synthesis. The new paper was especially important in helping to crystallize Shul'gin's attitudes towards the Jewish "progressives" and their campaign for political emancipation.

19 No. 131 (2 November 1867).

20 See nos. 21 (17 February 1868), 31 (12 March 1868) and 93 (6 August 1868).

21 For the origin and subsequent history of this episode, see Norman Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide* (New York and Evanston, Ill., 1969), pp. 21–40. The excerpts in *Kievlianin* were actually from the novel *Biarritz* by Hermann Goedsche, and they were clearly labeled as fiction.

The first issue of *Den',* appropriately enough, contained an article strongly criticizing Russian journalism for "the most shameless attacks on the honor and worthiness of the whole Jewish nation" and for publishing articles on the Jews worthy of Faddei Venediktovich (Bulgarin).[22] Extensive coverage was given to the fearful poverty of Jewish families in the Kovno gubernia, dating from the crop failures of 1867 and 1868; this had been so severe that the governor had personally helped establish a relief committee, and substantial aid had come from foreign Jewish relief committees. *Den'* argued intensely for the removal of the restrictions on the Jews — particularly the residence and trade restrictions which constituted the Pale — that it identified as the underlying cause of Jewish destitution and misery. *Kievlianin* and Shul'gin himself were singled out as wholly unsympathetic to this human misery.

Ironically, Shul'gin had been calling for the abolition of the Pale since *Kievlianin's* inception, and this continued to be one of the paper's proposed remedies for the Jewish Question until the pogroms of 1881. But Shul'gin could not ignore the personal challenge represented by *Den'* or the campaign for complete legal emancipation which it espoused. His editorial "Pauperizm russkikh evreev" (no. 92, for 7 August 1869), enumerated a number of causes for Jewish poverty: (1) the tradition of early Jewish marriages which saddled the young head of the family with family responsibilities before he had adequately learned a trade; (2) the insufficient income realized by Jewish artisans for their labor; (3) the small number of Jews engaged in agriculture; (4) the concentration of Jews in one place; (5) the insufficiency of the middle class economy; (6) the baneful influence of Hasidism; (7) the useless expenditure of thought on metaphysics; (8) the competition within the Jewish *meshchanstvo* and lower classes.

Yet the underlying cause might well be the general unproductivity of Jewish labor, wrote Shul'gin. This, of course, ran counter to "Jewish propaganda":

> Without them, they say, industry would be at a standstill, trade would be difficult, capital would be left wasted when it was needed in other places; the Black Sea trade would be entirely in the hands of monopolist-foreigners; producers would sell their products at a loss, and the profit would go abroad. The Jews are represented as our saviors from all these evils. We are obliged to them for the development of railroading, and for their accomplishment of other undertakings requiring significant capital which we, silent, would not get anywhere else. All this

[22] Bulgarin, best known as a journalist (*Severnaia pchela*) under Nicholas I, was also the author of the picaresque novel *Ivan Vizhigin,* which presented a very unflattering picture of the Russian "Yid" (*Zhid*).

is accomplished with the help of credit, in which the Jews, of course, have no rivals.

The propaganda maintained that the Jews' failure to impress upon Russians the "truth" of this simple political economic fact caused their restriction to the west and so their poverty.

By this reasoning, argued the editorial, the poorest country in Europe ought to be "overpopulated" Belgium. To be sure, overpopulation could have harmful effects — witness Ireland — yet there were no hardships befalling the Jews analogous to those besetting the Irish peasant (to say nothing of the Russian peasant). *Kievlianin* urged Jews to engage in more productive labor and even pointed out an appropriate field — agriculture. It proposed that Jews be permitted to resettle in the Russian gubernias and engage in agricultural colonization; wealthy Jews purchasing land in *Novorossiia* should be required to settle a given number of Jewish peasants on it; and existing Jewish agricultural colonies should be reformed. Thus *Kievlianin* advocated the government's stock panacea of agriculture, which went back to the Jewish *Polozhenie* of 1804 and had been periodically resurrected by Russian officialdom. But *Kievlianin* also recommended a major change. The imperial government should stop pouring good money after bad with investments in land, tools, etc., in an effort to assist the Jews. Leadership and direction should instead come from the Jews themselves, preferably from those Jewish intellectuals who were so quick to advise the government. Yet subsequent editorials showed that *Kievlianin* placed little confidence in the motives or abilities of these community leaders.

The editor's distrust of the Jewish progressives was summed up in the paper's serialized review of J. Tarnopol's progressivist tract *Opyt sovremennei osmotritel'noi reformy v oblasti iudaizma v Rossii* (Odessa, 1868).[23] In the last installment the reviewer differentiated between the rank and file of the Jewish population, who were really "zhidy" — credulous, fanatical, intolerant — and the progressives, who were alien to any "zhidovstvo" and were partisans of the integrationist triad of *sliianie, sblizhenie,* and *ob"edinenie*. Yet *Kievlianin* detected a "false note" amid this "Jewish choir": "In general these people are very liberal and humane — for themselves. They speak very well when the talk concerns the Jews by themselves, not touching the interests of the remaining inhabitants. But let the matter relate to the latter — all this liberalism and humanity is

[23] Nos. 65, 66 and 99, for 2 and 5 June and 8 August 1870, respectively.

put aside. . . ." For example, noted the author (with some insight), the progressives were culturally apart from the Jewish masses: they did not speak Yiddish, had fallen into religious indifference, and enthusiastically attacked negative features of Jewish life like Hasidism. Supporting the view that the Jews required reform before the equalization of rights led the progressives to turn on their would-be allies:

In their [the progressives'] turn, instead of agreeing with us, they begin to complain and cry, call us obscurantists, compare us with Bulgarin. They say that one's words have the bitter, ill-intentioned goal of encouraging the common people to hate the Jews, etc., etc. This shows the level of their argument. Not being able to argue on the worth of the matter, they seek to move it to another level, accusing you of bad intentions, of demagogic propaganda, of preparing for 'hep-hep'*. . . .

As the polemics with *Den'* over the productivity of Jewish labor continued, Shul'gin expressed disillusionment with the Jews in general and disenchantment with the motives of the progressivist leadership in particular, in terms reminiscent of the Russian intelligentsia's odyssey from the liberal enthusiasm of the 1850s to the colder appraisals of the mid-1860s and later. As Shul'gin had already recalled in his review of Tarnopol's work:

At the end of the 50s, and in general to 1863, all Russian society, we included, could not look with enmity upon the Jews and other nationalities living with us, being filled with antipathy towards the repressive measures of the 40s which fell upon all people, and thus mingled them together. To blame our society for past influences of liberalism and humanity hardly seems fair. The question is, who is guilty: those who under the influence of these sentiments wished to see in the Poles and the Jews their brothers; or those who from narrow national and religious antipathy or from profiteering (*torgashestvo*) and self-indulgence turned this humanism to evil, exploiting the people tied to us by blood and religion?

The publication of Brafman's *Kniga kagala* in book form and *Den'*s immediate attempts to discredit the author and his work permitted *Kievlianin* to return to this theme the following year. The response of the Jewish progressives again demonstrated their hypocrisy, proclaimed one editorial (no. 47, for 21 April 1870). They must have known about the widespread abuses in the kahal organization: why did they keep this information secret? To protect their personal interests by voicing patriotic lies? On 10 October 1870, in the article "Perestal li sushchestvovat' kagal?," *Kievlianin* forcibly challenged the progressives: who was in the

* *The rallying cry of the German anti-Jewish movement in the immediate post-Napoleonic period.*

right, those who based their arguments on words or those who based them on facts? Who more desired the good of Russia, those who hid and protected evil, or those who brought it out into the open? The progressives were given an unenviable choice: did they wish to claim complete ignorance of the workings of the kahal, or were they participants in its reprehensible activities?

In 1872 *Den',* after continual trouble with the censor, ceased publication. The publication of a collection of articles by its former editor I. Orshanskii, however, gave Shul'gin the opportunity to take a parting shot before setting off on a lengthy European trip.[24] A review article entitled "Otnoshenie k evreiskomu voprosu evreiskikh publitsistov," signed "F. F.," appeared in nos. 111 and 112 (16 and 19 September 1872). It praised Orshanskii's admission of the negative aspects of Jewish life, but criticized his apologetic attempts to explain them away. The Jewish progressives must recognize that their goals and aspirations would join with those of Russian society only when they ceased to ignore or excuse Jewish shortcomings. They would do well to learn from the Russians, who were always willing to bare their own faults in an effort to remedy them.

Kievlianin's lack of sympathy for the Jews had, in fact, become more strident with the appearance of *Den'* and other philosemitic Russian periodicals. Its attitude toward the Kovno famine was typical of the editorial stance. Also, *Kievlianin*'s treatment of the anti-Jewish riot of 1871 in Odessa anticipated the editorial judgments it would make of the more serious pogroms of 1881 which followed the assassination of Alexander II.

The Odessa disturbance began during the Holy Week, on 28 March 1871. Three days of rioting left at least six people dead, 21 wounded, and 1,156 under arrest. The outbreak was apparently triggered by a fight between Jewish and Christian street urchins near the church of Odessa's Greek community during services. *Kievlianin* carried reports from its own correspondents on the scene and reprinted much information from other newspapers. Most of its own correspondents emphasized the religious fanaticism on both sides (a charge that would be downplayed in 1881). But even more stress was placed on the antipathy which the common people bore for the Jews because of the latter's control of the economic life of Odessa and ruthless exploitation of the native population. According to *Kievlianin,* the chief motive of the *pogromshchiki* was

[24] Orshanskii's book was published as *Evrei v Rossii* (St. Petersburg, 1872).

revenge, not plunder. This report of a correspondent from Odessa drew the whole-hearted support of the editor:

From everything seen and heard I have reached the opinion — correctly, it seems to me — that the chief cause of the disorders lies in the fact that the Jewish population exercises great advantages in Odessa: thus in their hands is a large part of the trade, the right to which they abuse; thus in other fields of endeavor they have priority; soon all the land of Bessarabia and the Kherson gubernias will pass under their control; everywhere there is ruin [as a result of] the Jews — doctors, grain-brokers, those who serve in all or almost every office, on the railroad, and in other institutions. Rich Jews by their means and influence obtain advantageous occupations, places, jobs and work for their lower brothers, to the detriment of Russians — people in service, landowners, doctors, tradesmen, craftsmen, and common laborers. To all this is joined the long standing religious antipathy of Jews towards Greeks, and of Greeks towards Jews.[25]

From this quotation one can go back to recapitulate the evolution of *Kievlianin*'s attitude toward the Jewish Question. Initially the paper served as a forum for Jewish progressives, who debated pedagogical problems on its pages because they saw education as the surest way to promote the integration of Jews into gentile society and thus solve the Jewish Question. These assumptions were joined to *Kievlianin*'s view that the Jews were innocent victims of misdirected economic policies, to be corrected by dispersing Jews throughout the country. Almost immediately, however, the editorship had second thoughts, and attention was focused on the negative features of Jewish life, such as the reputed fanaticism of Hasidism, the disruptive impact of Jews on the local economy (especially as middlemen and tavern keepers), their avoidance of civic duties (especially military service), and their obstruction of Russification. After the appearance of the works of Iakov Brafman, these abuses were viewed not as individual or haphazard, but as a comprehensive Jewish conspiracy directed against the interests of Christians. Partly because of their refusal to join in a condemnation of the kahal and its attendant abuses, the Jewish progressive intelligentsia soon found itself included in the "conspiracy."

This process of disillusionment by *Kievlianin* was perhaps understandable. Despite the glib assurances of the liberals in the 1850s that education would make all things right, the Jewish Question was not disappearing. The vast majority of Russian Jewry clung to its traditions, religion, and "obscurantism." Those who did break with the Jewish community and its culture became the erstwhile allies of *Kievlianin,* not really accepted because they were unwilling to accept the sharper judgments of the

[25] No. 42 (22 April 1871).

Russian critics of Jewry. Such critics now mistrusted simple formulas which predicted rapid Jewish reform (chiefly through the extension of civil rights) but were prone to accept equally simplistic views of "Jewish exploitation" and the "power of the kahal." In the post-emancipation era Russia and the Ukraine (and the Jewish community) were in flux, economically and socially, as the new capitalistic economy struggled to emerge. It was a period in which opportunity and ruin came in equal proportions, a time requiring a new frame of reference and innovative ideas. Within this context of change, refurbished anti-Jewish shibboliths provided some anchorage. (For example, it was more convenient to ascribe Jewish poverty to an aversion to productive work than to analyze the radical economic transformation of the countryside which rendered obsolete the economic services provided by Jews in the traditional economy).

Unreasoning, optimistic Judeophilia now degenerated into unreasoning, cynical Judeophobia. Yet, the changing views on the nature of the Jews and the "Jewish evil" did not necessarily produce a change in the reforms advanced to deal with them. Under Shul'gin, *Kievlianin* never retreated from its stated position that the solution to the Jewish Question lay in the abolition of the Pale of Settlement and the dispersal of the Jews. However, the justification for such reforms no longer rested on ideas of humanitarianism or economic imbalance, but upon the need to parcel out what *Kievlianin* had come to see as the Ukraine's undesirable human burden.[26]

Fort Hays State University

[26] For an indication of how the ideas first expressed in *Kievlianin* were subsequently duplicated by "progressive" Ukrainian authors, writing in both the censored and uncensored (illegal) press, see Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "Mykhailo Drahomanov and the Problem of Ukrainian-Jewish Relations," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 11 (Summer 1969): 182–98.

DOCUMENTS

The Expenditures of the Crown Treasury for the Financing of Diplomacy between Poland and the Ukraine during the Reign of Jan Kazimierz

A. B. PERNAL

PART I: THE DIET ACCOUNTS OF 1648–1658*

Forty-one years ago Roman Rybarski published a monograph of exceptional quality in which he described and analyzed, among other matters, the fiscal and monetary policies which were pursued during the reigns of Jan Kazimierz (1648–1668), Michał Korybut (1669–1673), and Jan III (1674–1696).[1] Rybarski's scholarly labors proved to be very productive, for, to isolate just one of his many accomplishments, he directed the attention of scholars to an almost entirely unexplored field of research:[2] the financial aspect of diplomacy relating to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth[3] in the second half of the seventeenth century.

After World War II Bohdan Baranowski followed Rybarski's lead. While not confining his research to the financing of diplomacy, Baranowski nevertheless manifested his interest in this topic. In his biographic sketches of individuals who were active in the diplomatic service of the Commonwealth and represented its interests at the courts of several Eastern sovereign and vassal states, Baranowski purposely provided a

* Part II, relating to the Diet Accounts of 1659–1668, is forthcoming in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies.*

[1] Roman Rybarski, *Skarb i pieniądz za Jana Kazimierza, Michała Korybuta i Jana III* (Warsaw, 1939).

[2] Tadeusz Korzon may be regarded as a pioneer in this field. See his *Dola i niedola Jana Sobieskiego, 1629–1674,* 3 vols., 2nd ed. (Cracow, 1898).

[3] The term "Commonwealth," in the period under consideration, refers to the Polish-Lithuanian state as a whole (i.e., the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania). When it is necessary to distinguish the two components of this confederation, "Crown" or "Poland" and "Grand Duchy" or "Lithuania" are used for the Polish and the Lithuanian territories, respectively.

great deal of information concerning the financial costs of diplomacy.[4]

It was only in the 1960s, with the appearance of two detailed studies by Zbigniew Wójcik, that research solely concerned with the cost of diplomacy began to blossom. In the first study, Wójcik provided a very detailed cost-analysis of the alliance of 1654 to 1666 between the Commonwealth and the Crimea;[5] in the second, he devoted a great deal of attention to problems relating to the financing of the Commonwealth's diplomatic service, primarily in the three decades beginning from 1648.[6] Wójcik will undoubtedly deal with this topic again in his new major research project.[7]

A new approach to this field was recently taken by Wacław Zarzycki. In his monograph, which concentrates chiefly on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Zarzycki examined the finances of diplomacy under the highest-ranking military commanders of the Crown and the Grand Duchy — the hetmans.[8]

On my part, by providing certain data based chiefly on primary sources, I hope to contribute to a better understanding of the financial side of diplomacy, as well as to provide some new data about the composition and personnel of both the Polish and the Ukrainian diplomatic service during the reign of Jan Kazimierz (1648–1668).[9]

* * *

The duality of the Commonwealth formed in 1569[10] extended even to the

[4] Bohdan Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII wieku* (Łódź, 1950).

[5] Zbigniew Wójcik, "Aspekty finansowe przymierza polsko-tatarskiego w latach 1654–1666," in *O naprawę Rzeczypospolitej XVII–XVIII [w.] Prace ofiarowane Władysławowi Czaplińskiemu w 60 rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Józef Gierowski et al. (Warsaw, 1965), pp. 137–53. In English: "Some Problems of Polish-Tatar Relations in the Seventeenth Century: The Financial Aspects of the Polish-Tatar Alliance in the Years 1654–1666," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 13 (1966):87–102.

[6] Zbigniew Wójcik, "Z dziejów organizacji dyplomacji polskiej w drugiej połowie XVII wieku," in *Polska służba dyplomatyczna XVI–XVIII w.*, ed. Zbigniew Wójcik (Warsaw, 1966), pp. 257–367.

[7] A four-volume history of Polish diplomacy is soon to be published. The first volume, which is co-authored by Marian Biskup and Zbigniew Wójcik, covers the period from Poland's genesis as a state to her third partition in 1795.

[8] Wacław Zarzycki, *Dyplomacja hetmanów w dawnej Polsce* (Warsaw and Poznań, 1976).

[9] No detailed list of envoys during this period has yet been compiled. The list prepared by Władysław Konopczyński is not only incomplete, but contains serious errors: *Repertorium*, 1:427. See the appendix (pp. 111–13) for abbreviations and references.

[10] On the Union of Lublin see Oskar Halecki, *Dzieje Unii Jagiellońskiej*, 2 vols. (Cracow, 1919–20); Stanisław Kutrzeba, *Unia Polski z Litwą* (Cracow, 1914); and

level of the ministries; thus, the Crown and the Grand Duchy each maintained its own separate treasury and each entrusted its administration to analogous sets of officials. Under this arrangement, the costs of conducting foreign relations for the state as a whole were not shared. The financial responsibility, following the established pattern of duality, was assumed by the treasury of each unit of the Polish-Lithuanian confederation. Therefore, a direct correlation existed between each unit's expenditures and its own degree or frequency of diplomatic intercourse with neighboring states. Since in the diplomatic arena the Crown acquired undisputed predominance over the Grand Duchy, the Crown's treasury was responsible for providing funds to cover most of the expenses —some 80 percent — relating to diplomacy for the Commonwealth as a whole.[11]

The Crown treasury disbursed funds for all diplomatic missions sent abroad, as well as for some foreign missions, even though a number of them were only passing through the territories of the kingdom.[12] The practice of hosting missions from abroad, which began to disappear in Western Europe during the waning of the Middle Ages,[13] applied chiefly[14] to diplomats arriving in the Commonwealth from the Eastern sovereign and vassal states — Muscovy, Persia, Turkey, Crimea, Moldavia, and Wallachia.[15]

The same practice was followed by the Crown treasury with regard to the representatives of the Ukraine, the Cossacks, who were already able to shape significantly the foreign policy of the Polish-Lithuanian state at the opening of the seventeenth century. During the period we are considering the Cossacks were transformed from an extremely important internal factor in the foreign policy of the Commonwealth to an equally important

---

Jonas Žmuidzinas, *Commonwealth polono-lithuanien ou l'Union de Lublin (1569)* (Paris, The Hague, and New York, 1978).

11 Wójcik, "Z dziejów organizacji dyplomacji," p. 290.

12 Wójcik, "Z dziejów organizacji dyplomacji," p. 283.

13 E. R. Adair, *The Exterritoriality of Ambassadors in the Sixteenth and the Seventeenth Centuries* (New York, 1929), p. 266; and Donald E. Queller, *The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1967), p. 166.

14 The partial financing of the diplomatic mission of Parchevich in 1657 was an exception to the general rule. For information relating to this mission, see Julian Pejaesevich, "Peter Freiherr von Parchevich, Erzbischof von Martianopel, apostolischer Vicar und Administrator der Moldau, Bulgarischer Internuntius am Kaiserlichen Hofe und Kaiserlicher Gesandter bei dem Kosaken-Hetman Bogdan Chmielnicki (1612–1674)," *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 59 (1884):337–637.

15 Stanisław Edward Nahlik, *Narodziny nowożytnej dyplomacji* (Wrocław, 1971), p. 93; and Wójcik, "Z dziejów organizacji dyplomacji," pp. 278–79.

external partner in diplomatic negotiations. Two main factors contributed to the inclusion of the Cossacks in the whole process of diplomacy: their formidable military strength and the very broad and liberal interpretation, by the Commonwealth's government, of the *ius legationis*.[16] From the time of the Union of Lublin, when the Ukraine became administratively part of the kingdom, the Crown maintained almost exclusive contact with the Cossacks. Its treasury paid out over 90 percent of the costs relating to diplomatic missions sent to and received from the Ukraine.[17]

Funds for diplomacy were disbursed by the Crown treasurer once he received the formal authorization of the Diet or, when it was not in session, of the Crown chancellor in the name of the senators-resident.[18] If the treasurer had sufficient funds in the treasury, he paid all the bills relating to the costs of lodging, feeding, and entertaining a visiting envoy. If the Crown coffers were almost empty — a chronic problem in the 1650s and 1660s — the treasurer substituted goods, especially cloth, of equal value for cash.[19] When the treasurer lacked sufficient funds to finance diplomatic missions authorized to go abroad, he borrowed money from the royal treasury or, more frequently, issued mandates for payment which empowered the bearers to receive cash from designated merchants, tax collectors, municipalities, or Jewish communities.[20]

The cost of financing diplomacy varied greatly, for it depended on many factors, such as the rank of a diplomat, the prestige of his plenipotentiary, the size of his entourage, the nature of his mission, the length of his stay, and the like. Sometimes the Crown treasury had to furnish great sums of money, both for diplomatic missions arriving from abroad and for those sent abroad. The Muscovite embassy headed by Grigorii Pushkin, Stepan Pushkin, and Gavriil Leont'ev that arrived in Warsaw in 1650 is perhaps the best example of such an instance. Its stay in the capital and environs, from March 1 to August 8, cost the Crown treasury an enormous sum: 105,552 zł. 10 gr. 8 d. The total sum spent by the treasury in that year for the needs of all visiting tsarist diplomats amounted to 107,854 zł. 28 gr. 8 d.[21]

16 Nahlik, *Narodziny nowożytnej dyplomacji*, p. 46.
17 This estimate is based on my calculations.
18 Rybarski, *Skarb i pieniądz*, pp. 25–29.
19 For example, Stepan Sulyma and Andrii Romanenko received cloth valued at 546 zł. Signed receipt, Warsaw, 11 June 1659; AGAD, ASK VI, KA, MS 6, folio 109r.
20 For example, Jan Kazimierz Krasiński issued a mandate for payment to Stanisław Kazimierz Bieniewski for the sum of 5,000 zł. Mandate, Warsaw, 8 June 1659; AGAD, ASK VI, KA, MS 6, folio 428r.
21 AGAD, ASK II, RS,MS 47, folio 88r.

The largest single expense involving a visiting diplomatic mission from the Ukraine in 1659 totaled 72,450 zł. 15 gr., of which 53,010 zł. was in cash[22] and 19,440 zł. 15 gr. in cloth.[23] Another large sum, in the amount of 40,000 zł.,[24] was disbursed by Stanisław Kazimierz Bieniewski chiefly during the crucial negotiations in 1658 relating to the re-entry of the Ukraine, renamed the Grand Duchy of Ruthenia, into the Commonwealth.

Most expenditures relating to diplomatic missions dispatched to and received from the Ukraine were not so high, however. The mission of Mikołaj Zaćwilichowski and Zygmunt Czerny in 1652, for example, cost the Crown treasury 7,500 zł.,[25] that of Mikołaj Grzybowski in 1657 cost 300 zł.,[26] and that of Daniel Jerzy Woronicz, in the same year, cost only 200 zł.[27] The Crown treasury spent 134 zł. for the four-week sojourn in Warsaw of Kazymyr Zhurans'kyi and his entourage of six;[28] for Teodosii Tomkovych's six-week stay, also in the capital, it spent 900 zł.[29] But for just a two-week residence by Pavlo Teteria-Morzhkovs'kyi and his colleagues, in the military camp during the siege of Toruń in 1658, the treasury received a bill for 1,200 zł.[30]

A detailed account of expenses, totaling 1,157 zł. 20 gr., of the diplomatic mission of Semen Nenartovych and two other Cossack envoys in 1652 has been preserved in the Archive of the Crown Treasury. It contains interesting information about the allotment of funds for the envoys, their retinue, and their horses.[31]

The staff of the Crown treasury kept receipts of all revenues and expenditures. From these the staff prepared, for sessions of each new Diet, detailed general accounts revealing the current state of "public" funds in the treasury. The Diet accounts (*rachunki sejmowe*)[32] supply

22 AGAD, ASK IV, KR, MS 14, folio 300r.
23 AGAD, ASK VI, KA, MS 6, folio 671v.
24 AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 54, folio 55r.
25 Signed receipt, Warsaw, 2 September 1652: AGAD, ASK IV, KR, MS 13, folio 313r.
26 Receipt signed by Stanisław Kazimierz Bieniewski, Dubno, 11 July 1657: AGAD, ASK V, KK, MS 8, folio 999r.
27 Signed receipt, Lviv, 17 October 1657: AGAD, ASK IV, KR, MS 14, folio 61r.
28 Signed receipt, Warsaw, 2 April 1659: AGAD, ASK IV, KR, MS 15, folio 89r.
29 Receipt signed by Kostiantyn Boiars'kyi, Warsaw, 6 August 1658: AGAD, ASK IV, KR, MS 14, folio 232r.
30 Receipt signed by Stanisław Kazimierz Bieniewski at military camp by Toruń, 16 November 1658: AGAD, ASK IV, KR, MS 14, folio 234r.
31 Table A, pp. 113–14.
32 Convocation Diet of 1648: AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 6, folios 473r–476r; Coronation Diet of 1649: ibid., folios 477r–487r (for the years 1648–1649); Diet of

most of the data that appears below about the diplomatic expenditures of the Crown treasury. Additional primary sources from the Archive of the Crown Treasury are also used here to solve some peculiar problems relating to certain items in the accounts. These sources are, specifically, the records of receipts (*księgi kwitów*[33] and *księgi rekognicji*),[34] the records of mandates for payment (*księgi asygnat*),[35] the envoys' accounts (*rachunki poselskie*),[36] the royal accounts (*rachunki królewskie*),[37] and the royal household accounts (*rachunki nadworne królów*).[38] Additional royal accounts are located in the Royal Library in Stockholm.[39]

The auditing of accounts and their acceptance by the Diet normally comprised a pattern of four stages. The Crown treasurer submitted his general accounts to the scrutiny of a standing financial committee at some early session of each Diet. Once satisfied that all items were properly entered, described, and balanced, the members of this committee indicated their approval by signing the last page of the accounts. The completion of the audit by the financial committee terminated the first stage, while its motion recommending to the Diet the acceptance of the accounts concluded the second. If the Diet voted unanimously in favor of the motion, and the marshal (speaker) of the Chamber of Deputies subscribed the accounts, the third stage came to an end. Finally, the last stage was completed when the Crown chancery issued to the treasurer a receipt

1649–1650: ibid., folios 496r–509v; Diet of 1650: ibid., folios 521r–543v and AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 47; Diet of 1652 (1st): AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 6, folios 554r–557v (expenditures for diplomacy are not itemized) and AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 49; Diet of 1652 (2nd): AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 6, folios 558r–568v and AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 48; Diet of 1653: ibid., MS 50; Diet of 1654 (1st): ibid., MS 51; Diet of 1654 (2nd); ibid., MS 52; Diet of 1658: Ossol., MS 9532 (for the years 1654–1658); Diet of 1659: AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 54; Diet of 1661: ibid., MS 55; Diet of 1662: ibid., MS 56; Diet of 1664–1665: Ossol., MS 9533; Diet of 1666 (1st): AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 60 (for the years 1664–1666); Diet of 1668 (Abdication): ibid., MS 61 (for the years 1664–1668); and Diet of 1672: ibid., MS 62 (for the years 1668–1672).

33 AGAD, ASK V, KK, MS 8 (1650–1663); MS 9 (1663–1667); and MS 10 (1667–1679).

34 AGAD, ASK IV, KR, MS 12 (1603–1608, 1651–1659); MS 13 (1651–1657); MS 14 (1657–1662); MS 15 (1658–1666); MS 16 (1668–1683); and MS 19 (1533–1720).

35 AGAD, ASK VI, KA, MS 4 (1601–1608, 1650–1657); MS 5 (1658–1667); MS 6 (1658–1659); MS 7 (1660–1662); MS 8 (1663); MS 9 (1663); MS 10 (1663): MS 11 (1663); MS 12 (1664–1668); MS 13 (1667); and MS 14 (1668–1671).

36 AGAD, ASK 2, RP, MS 22, folio 32 (chiefly relating to Cossack-Tatar diplomatic missions in the years 1658–1659).

37 AGAD, ASK 1, RK, MS 305 (1650–1652).

38 AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 4 (1565–1764); MS 5 (1600–1672); and MS 6 (1628–1652).

39 KB, Cdx. Holm., MS D 1475:6 (1650–1653); and MS D 1478 (1651–1652).

stating that his general accounts, having been found to be in proper order, received the unanimous approval of the Diet. This whole process did not always function smoothly, for many reasons. There were, for example, re-audits of the accounts.[40]

In Diet accounts, items relating to diplomatic expenditures are briefly described and listed under two headings: "provisions" and "legations." The former heading refers to financial obligations of the Crown treasury for such items as food, lodgings, and presents which had to be provided to foreign envoys. The latter heading refers to the cost to the Crown treasury of financing diplomatic missions representing the Commonwealth that were dispatched abroad.

It would be a serious error, however, to accept the totals listed under both of these headings as expenditures for diplomacy in the strict sense.[41] On the one hand, figures listed under the headings are for large expenditures on the army which can hardly be classified as diplomatic expenses. On the other hand, certain legitimate costs relating to diplomacy, such as salaries of interpreters, cannot be found under the headings at all; they appear under other sections of the accounts.[42] A special entry listed the sums of money granted to the Crown hetmans by the Diet for the management of "public affairs"; the term meant that the funds were to be used for expenditures of a diplomatic and military nature.[43]

One must also be cautious about entries describing expenditures in general terms. For example, one entry indicates that the sum of 13,787 zł. 6 gr. was spent on "provisions" for the Cossack and Tatar envoys in 1658.[44] The itemized statement signed by Mikołaj Prażmowski reveals, however, that expenditures for the first two months of 1659 were included. Moreover, some expenditures are not even remotely connected with diplomacy, such as the sum of 300 zł. that paid for the printing of the "Constitution" of the Diet of 1658.[45]

Due to the absence in the Archive of the Crown Treasury of many itemized statements or receipts, exact calculations of expenditures relating to the Ukraine cannot be made; thus, one must rely on inaccurate estimates. Many questions then arise: for example, just how much of the

40 Rybarski, *Skarb i pieniądz*, pp. 55–61.
41 See Ernest Satow, *A Guide to Diplomatic Practice*, 2 vols. (London, 1917), 1:1; and the *Oxford Universal Dictionary on Historical Principles*, 3rd rev. ed. (Oxford, 1955), p. 514.
42 Wójcik, "Z dziejów organizacji dyplomacji," pp. 279, 285–86.
43 Zarzycki, *Dyplomacja hetmanów*, pp. 88–92.
44 AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 55, folio 63v.
45 AGAD, ASK 2, RP, MS 22, folio 32v.

3,000 zł. listed in the accounts of the Diet of 1659[46] was actually spent on the visiting Cossack envoys? Did it include such small sums as the 10 zł. that was received by Tysza for accompanying "the secretary of His Imperial Majesty" on his return trip from Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi in 1657,[47] or the 25 zł. 22½ gr. spent on messengers who maintained contact with Stanisław Kazimierz Bieniewski in the following year?[48] Unfortunately, unless new sources can be found, these and similar questions cannot be answered with any certainty.

Many original receipts relating to diplomacy, especially those for the years 1648–1651 and 1656–1657, are missing from the Archive of the Crown Treasury. With regard to the latter gap, it is true that substitute receipts were issued by Aleksander Sielski, who acted as the "administrator" of the Crown treasury at the time, but most of these documents, dated 19 December 1657 in Poznań, provide insufficient information. For example, one document reveals that in 1656[49] (the year had to be determined) the sum of 1,376 zł. was spent on "provisions" for the tsarist envoy Fedor Tikhonov — his surname, Zykov,[50] is not given — and four unnamed Cossack envoys.[51] Thus, once again, one has to rely on the estimates. The examples already referred to show that a considerable amount of analysis is necessary before accurate totals of the diplomatic expenditures of the Crown treasury can be established.

Not all legitimate diplomatic expenses were listed in the Diet accounts because a distinction was made — on reasoning that is very difficult for us to understand today — between "royal" and "public" business. If Jan Kazimierz expedited a diplomat to carry out a certain mission in his name, all expenses relating to the mission had to be covered by the royal treasury. Expenses connected with the stay of certain "residents" abroad, the "provisions" of certain envoys at the royal court, the dispatch of certain diplomatic couriers and the maintenance of postal services (frequently used for diplomatic purposes) had to be paid out of the "private" purse of the king, not out of the "public" purse of the state.[52]

46 AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 54, folio 56v.
47 Receipt signed by Aleksander Sielski, Poznań, 19 December 1657: AGAD, ASK IV, KR, MS 14, folio 45r.
48 Receipt signed by Krzysztof Chronowski, Warsaw, 8 July 1658: AGAD, ASK IV, KR, MS 14, folio 259r.
49 Pietro Vidoni to the Holy See, from military camp by Warsaw, 20 June 1656: *LNA*, 8:299.
50 N. N. Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Obzor vnieshnikh snoshenii Rossii (po 1800 god)*, 4 pts. (Moscow, 1894–1902), 3:130.
51 AGAD, ASK IV, KR, MS 14, folio 11r.
52 AGAD, ASK I, RK, MS 305.

Many diplomatic missions to the Ukraine must have been financed by the king. Still, even expenditures for some well-known missions that cannot in any way be regarded as private missions of the king do not appear in the Diet accounts. For example, in 1648 the Convocation Diet voted to form a commission to negotiate an agreement with Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi. It drew up an instruction, named Adam Kysil, Franciszek Dubrawski, Adam Sielski, and Teodor Obuchowicz commissioners,[53] and authorized the Crown treasurer to make available 19,000 zł. for their expenses.[54] For some reason, this sum was not included in the Diet accounts. Similarly, the Diet accounts provide no information regarding the costs of two diplomatic missions dispatched by Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi to Warsaw in 1648: the first was headed by Andrzej Mokrski and Zakharii Khmel'nyts'kyi,[55] and the second comprised Ivan Hyra, Bohdan Sokol'ovs'kyi, Dmytro Cherkas'kyi, and Mykyta Hladkyi.[56] Nor was any record made of expenses relating to the mission of Mikołaj Wolski,[57] who was sent to the Cossack leader in the same year.[58]

The absence of any sum relating to the negotiations near Zboriv from the Diet accounts would lead one to believe that not one złoty was spent by the Crown treasury for the purpose of concluding a peace treaty with the Cossacks. This omission is even more incredible when one discovers that Jan Kazimierz borrowed 128,310 zł. from various magnates and dignitaries for the appeasement of the Tatars,[59] and that the Diet voted to return to the royal treasury only 6,624 zł.[60] While one can understand the necessity for appropriating a large sum of money at such a time — the king's army faced imminent defeat[61] — to bribe the Tatars, it is unreasonable to accept the camouflaged suggestion of the accounts that at the same time the Cossacks marched away to the Ukraine empty-handed. On the

[53] Instruction, Warsaw, 29 July 1648: *Dokumenty*, pp. 87–89.

[54] Ludwik Kubala, *Jerzy Ossoliński*, 2nd rev. ed. (Warsaw, 1924), p. 294.

[55] Andrzej Mokrski to Jan Kazimierz, somewhere between Zamość and Warsaw, 9/[19] November 1648: *Dokumenty*, pp. 192–93; Senate Session, Warsaw, 24 November 1648: *Księga pamiętnicza*, p. 359; and Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, *Memoriale rerum gestarum in Polonia*, ed. and trans. Adam Przyboś and Roman Żelewski, 5 vols. (Wrocław, 1968–1975), 4:89–90.

[56] Report of Grigorii Kunakov in 1649: *Akty IUZR*, 3:284.

[57] Karol Szajnocha, *Dwa lata dziejów naszych: 1646. 1648*, 2 vols. (Warsaw, 1900), 2, pt. 2:188.

[58] He was dispatched from Warsaw on 10 July 1648 to Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi with the letters of Mikołaj Łubieński, Jerzy Ossoliński, and the Cossack envoys. See BKr., MS 2254, folio 115r. *Księga pamiętnicza*, p. 78, has an incorrect date (20 July 1648).

[59] AGAD, ASK I, RK, MS 305, folios 53v–54r.

[60] AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 49, folio 72r.

[61] Ludwik Frąś, "Bitwa pod Zborowem w r. 1649," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 46 (1932):355–69.

contrary, either a large portion of this "Tatar money" or a separate sum must have been used to soften the hearts of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi, Ivan Vyhovs'kyi, and the Cossack colonels: under the circumstances kind words and promises would hardly gain their support for "A Declaration of His Majesty's Clemency to the Zaporozhian Army."[62]

There are many other puzzles as well. For instance, the sum of 40,000 zł. was voted by the Diet of 1650 to defray the expenses of Adam Kysil:[63] why does it not appear in the Diet accounts? Also, why is the sum of 1,860 zł., which was granted in 1650 to the Muscovite envoys (Petr Protas'ev and Grigorii Bogdanov) whom Jerzy Jarmołowicz accompanied to the Ukraine to settle the Ankundinov affair,[64] included in the non-audited accounts[65] but excluded from the audited ones? There are other puzzles of a similar nature.

The Diet accounts do not reflect the complete cost to the Crown treasury of financing diplomacy between Poland and the Ukraine. If all the legitimate costs of the king's and the hetmans' diplomacy are taken into consideration, along with the unaccounted items mentioned above and the occasional expenditures of the treasury of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the total would be some 50 percent higher than the expenditures listed in the Diet accounts.[66]

Brandon University

APPENDIX

I. ABBREVIATIONS

Manuscripts

AGAD	Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (Warsaw)
AKW	Archiwum Koronne Warszawskie (AGAD)
ASK	Archiwum Skarbowe Koronne (AGAD)
BKr.	Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Cracow)
Czart.	Muzeum Narodowe. Biblioteka Czartoryskich (Cracow)

[62] For the English translation of the Treaty of Zboriv see A. B. Pernal, "The Polish Commonwealth and Ukraine: Diplomatic Relations 1648–1659" (Ph.D. diss., University of Ottawa, 1977), pp. 513–17.
[63] WAPGd, MS 300/29/134, folio 417v.
[64] Another pretender to the tsarist throne, Timofei Ankudinov (Onkudinov), appeared in the Ukraine late in 1649.
[65] AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 6, folio 541v.
[66] According to my calculations.

KA	Księgi Asygnat (ASK, Oddział VI)
KB	Kungliga Bibliothek (Stockholm)
KK	Księgi Kwitów (ASK, Oddział V)
Koz	Dział: Kozackie (AKW, Karton 42)
KP	Księgi Poselstw (MK)
KR	Księgi Rekognicji (ASK, Oddział IV)
MK	Metryka Koronna (AGAD)
MS	Manuscript
Ossol.	Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego imienia Ossolińskich Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Wrocław)
RK	Rachunki Królewskie (ASK, Oddział 1)
RNK	Rachunki Nadworne Królów (ASK, Oddział III)
RP	Rachunki Poselstw (ASK, Oddział 2)
RS	Rachunki Sejmowe (ASK, Oddział II)
WAPGd	Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe (Gdańsk)

Imprints

Akty IUZR — Akty, otnosiashchiesia k istorii Iuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii, sobrannye i izdannye arkheograficheskoiu kommissieiu, 15 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1861-92).

Dokumenty — Dokumenty ob osvoboditel'noi voine ukrainskogo naroda 1648-1654 g.g., ed. A. Z. Baraboi et al. (Kiev, 1965).

Dokumenty Khmel'nyts'koho — Dokumenty Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho 1648-1657, ed. I. Kryp"iakevych and I. Butych (Kiev, 1961).

Księga pamiętnicza — Jakuba Michałowskiego wojskiego lubelskiego a późniéj kasztelana bieckiego księga pamiętnicza z dawnego rękopisma będącego własnością Ludwika Hr. Morsztyna, ed. Antoni Zygmunt Helcel (Cracow, 1864).

LNA — Litterae Nuntiorum Apostolicorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantes (1550-1850), ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj, 14 vols. (Rome, 1959-77 et seq.).

Ojczyste spominki — Ojczyste spominki w pismach do dziejów dawnej Polski. Diaryusze, Relacye, Pamiętniki, i t. p., służyć mogące do dojaśnienia dziejów krajowych i tudzież listy historyczne do panowania królów Jana Kazimierza i Michała Korybuta, oraz Listy Jana Sobieskiego marszałka i hetmana koronnego, ed. Ambroży Grabowski, 2 vols. (Cracow, 1845).

Pamiatniki (1) — *Pamiatniki, izdannye vremennoiu kommissieiu dlia razbora drevnikh aktov, vysochaishe uchrezhdennoiu pri Kievskom voennom, Podol'skom i Volynskom general-gubernatore,* 4 vols. (Kiev, 1845-59).

Pamiatniki (2) — *Pamiatniki, izdannye kievskoiu kommissieiu dlia razbora drevnikh aktov,* 2nd rev. ed., 3 vols. (Kiev, 1898).

Repertorium — Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder seit dem Westfälischen Frieden (1648), ed. L. Bittner et al., 3 vols. (Oldenburg/ Berlin, Zürich, Graz, and Cologne, 1936-65).

Volumina Legum — Prawa, Konstytucye y Przywileie Krolestwa Polskiego, y Wielkiego Xięstwa Litewskiego, y wszytkich Prowincyi należących: Na Walnych Seymiech Koronnych Od Seymu Wiślickiego Roku Pańskiego 1347 Aż

do Ostatniego Seymu uchwalone, comp. Stanisław Konarski, 8 vols. (Warsaw, 1732–82).

Zherela — *Zherela do istorii Ukrainy-Rusy,* 16 vols. (Lviv, 1895–1924).

Monetary

d.	denar (18 d. = 1 gr.)
gr.	grosz (30 gr. = 1 zł.)
zł.	złoty

II. TABLES

The three tables below give financial details relating to the diplomatic mission of three Cossack envoys in 1652 (Table A), and the lists of expenditures by the Crown treasury for diplomatic missions, including their personnel, expedited to (Table B) and received from (Table C) the Ukraine in the years 1648–1658.

Each date in Tables B and C signifies only the initial appointment or functioning of a diplomatic mission or commission, not its duration. Bracketed figures signify that such sums have been calculated on the basis of estimates. The primary source references in Tables B and C relate, for the most part, to the Diet accounts, both audited and unaudited.

It must be kept in mind that all sums and percentages are based on figures supplied by the Diet accounts. While these figures include the extraordinary expenditures of the hetmans for diplomacy, they exclude both the hetmans' ordinary grants for "public affairs" and the king's financing of diplomacy.

Table A

The Cossack Diplomatic Mission in 1652:
Cost-Analysis of its Sojourn in Warsaw[1]

	zł. gr.
1. Envoys: Semen Nenartovych	
Roman Katorzhnyi	
Iurii Bohdans'kyi	
a. Food and lodging @ 25 zł. per week for each (75 zł. x 4)	300 00
b. Presents: i. Woolen cloth valued @ 50 zł. for each (x 3)	150 00
ii. Damask valued @ 40 zł. for each (x 3)	120 00
iii. Cash @ 100 zł. for each (x 3)	300 00
2. Entourage: 9 persons	
Food and lodging @ 6 zł. per week for each (x 4)	216 00

[1] Signed receipt, Warsaw, 2 September 1652: AGAD, ASK IV, KR, MS 13, folios 254r, 288r.

3. Horses: number unspecified	
Oats and hay for 4 weeks	71 20
Total	1,157 20

Table B

Diplomatic Missions Sent to the Ukraine

Year	Envoys	Costs zł. gr. d.	Sources
1648	Sylvestr Kossov[1]	2,000 00 00	AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 6, folios 486r, 508r.
1648	Bartłomiej Śmiarowski[2]	1,000 00 00	AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 6, folios 486r, 508r.
1648	Stanisław Ołdakowski[3]	1,000 00 00	AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 6, folios 486r, 508r.

[1] His surname is also spelled Kosiv and Kosov.

[2] For over eight decades historians relied largely on Aleksander Kraushar's source-article, "Poselstwo Jakóba Śmiarowskiego do Bohdana Chmielnickiego pod oblężony Zamość w r. 1648," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 5 (1891):813–24 (which was also translated into Russian and published in *Kievskaia starina,* 1894, no. 12, pp. 445–60), for the information that Śmiarowski's forename was Jakub (Jakób). Since the primary sources, all of which I examined, refer to Śmiarowski only by his surname (see, e.g., *Dokumenty,* pp. 219, 226, 238; *Dokumenty Khmel'nyts'koho,* pp. 115, 125; and *Księga pamiętnicza,* pp. 218, 354, 358, 364, 370, 381, 394, 396, 402, 404–406, 420), Kraushar must have gained the information about "Jakób" Śmiarowski from Wespazjan Kochowski's *Annalium Poloniae ab obitu Vladislai IV. Climacter primus* (Cracow, 1683), p. 92. Since Kochowski's book was published thirty-five years after Śmiarowski's mission, it is not improbable that he made an error about the forename of a minor diplomatic agent who, moreover, died in 1649.

My rejection of "Jakób" and acceptance of "Bartłomiej" are justified by one item found in the records of the Crown treasury. These records are much more credible than the account of Kochowski, for they were made in 1649. An entry in one of the Diet accounts reveals that "Bartholomeao Śmiarowski" was charged with delivering the sum of 4,000 zł. to Mykola Kysil, one of the commissioners. See AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 6, folio 508r.

Historians refer to Śmiarowski as the "Royal Secretary" and the "Vice-Starosta of Cherkasy." While I am ready to accept the former title, as it was largely honorific and thus carried little "weight" among contemporaries, I cannot accept the latter, since it was regarded as an office of considerable importance. As a rule, in the period under consideration a noble was addressed by the title of his office rather than by his surname. In Śmiarowski's case, because he was addressed as "Pan Śmiarowski" one can conclude that he was a noble who did not hold an office of any kind. I know of only two documents which describe Śmiarowski as an office-holder: the first is a short description about the Cossacks by Hieronim Pinocci; the second, a heading in a copy book, a typical *silva rerum.* Pinocci's account is unreliable: he wrote that Śmiarowski was either the starosta or the vice-starosta of Cherkasy (see *Ojczyste spominki,* 1:142). The anonymous copier of documents is equally unreliable, for he referred to Śmiarowski as the sub-dapifer (*podstoli*) of Chernihiv (see Czart., MS 1657, p. 373, old pagination; p. 291, new pagination). Cf. *Volumina Legum,* 4:255.

[3] This is the spelling of his name in *Volumina Legum,* 4:253. Other versions are Chołdakowski and Hołdakowski.

1648	Adam Kysil Maksymilian Brzhozovs'kyi Mykola Kysil Wojciech Miaskowski Jakub Zielinski Bartłomiej Śmiarowski Zakhar Chetvertyns'kyi	20,300 00 00	AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 6, folios 486r, 508 (A. Kysil, Miaskowski, and Zielinski: 16,300 zł.; M. Kysil: 4,000 zł.)[4]
1649	Bartłomiej Śmiarowski	2,000 00 00	AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 6, folio 508r.
1650	Mykola Kysil	3,000 00 00	AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 6, folio 541r; AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 47, folio 89v.
1650	Stanisław Zaremba[5] Stanisław Lanckoroński Mikołaj Kazimierz Kossakowski	15,000 00 00	AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 49, folio 76r (Zaremba: 6,000 zł.; Lanckoroński: 6,000 zł.; Kossakowski: 3,000 zł.).
1651	Extraordinary expenses of Mikołaj Potocki in negotiating the Treaty of Bila Tserkva	[7,484 00 00][6]	AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 6, folio 567v (total sum: 17,014 zł. 03 gr.); AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 48, folios 51v–52r (total sum: 17,014 zł.).
1652	Mikołaj Zaćwilichowski Zygmunt Czerny	7,500 00 00	AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 50, folio 7r.
1656	Krzysztof Tyszkiewicz Jan Franciszek Łubowicki[7]	13,000 00 00	Ossol., MS 9532, pp. 130–31 (Tyszkiewicz: 6,000 zł.;

[4] Part of this total sum was delivered by Miaskowski to Adam Kysil (10,000 zł.) and to Jakub Zielinski (3,000 zł.). See *Księga pamiętnicza*, p. 369.

[5] The Diet of 1650 created a commission to negotiate with Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi. It comprised the three persons listed above, as well as the following five: Adam Kysil, Hrehory Jerzy Drucki-Horski, Iurii Nemyrych, Hryhorii Chetvertyns'kyi and Krzysztof Tyszkiewicz. See *Volumina Legum*, 4:332. Only Kysil and Kossakowski, who represented the Crown, took part in the direct negotiations at Bila Tserkva; while the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was represented by two new members of the commission: Jerzy Karol Hlebowicz and Wincenty Korwin Gosiewski. See Stanisław Oświęcim, *Stanisława Oświęcima dyaryusz, 1643–1651*, ed. Wiktor Czermak (Cracow, 1907), p. 370.

The Treaty of Bila Tserkva (28 September 1651) was signed by the following: Mikołaj Potocki, Marcin Kalinowski, Adam Kysil, Stanisław Lanckoroński, Zbigniew Gorajski and Mikołaj Kazimierz Kossakowski (for the Crown); and Janusz Radziwiłł, Jerzy Karol Hlebowicz and Wincenty Korwin Gosiewski (for Lithuania). See *Pamiatniki* (1), 2, pt. 3:118–39. English translation: Pernal, "Polish Commonwealth and Ukraine," pp. 518–23.

[6] The estimate of 7,484 zł. is based on the itemized statement of expenses from 2 April to 29 October 1651, totaling 20,516 zł., which was submitted to the Diet of 1652 by Piotr Potocki. See AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 5, folios 623r–624v.

[7] Samuel Grądzki (Grondski), the author of *Historia Belli Cossaco-Polonici*, ed. C. Koppi [Pest], 1789), first published errors about this individual, by referring to him as

	Mikołaj Zaćwilichowski		Łubowicki: 4,000 zł.; Zaćwilichowski: 3,000 zł.).
1656	Dionisii Balaban	500 00 00	Ossol., MS 9532, p. 131.
1657	Petr Parchevich[8] Kristofor Marjanovič	2,256 15 00	Ossol., MS 9532, p. 124 (Marjanovič: 300 zł.); p. 131 (Parchevich: 400 zł.); AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 54, folio 55v (Parchevich: 1,200 zł.); AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 5, folio 708v (356 zł. 15 gr. spent on this mis-

"Stanislaus Luborvitzki (also Luborwicki), Dapifero Ciethanoviensi" (pp. 38, 238). Grądzki completed his manuscript of *Historia* some two decades after meeting Łubowicki in 1655, so the passage of years may be somewhat responsible. In 1655 the office of dapifer of Ciechanów was occupied not by a Stanisław Luborvitzki or Luborwicki, but by Jan Franciszek Łubowicki, as the following documents show.

Volume 4 of *Volumina Legum* gives correct information (see pp. 74, 83, 144, 520, 529, 584, 586, 600, 692, 1021, 1059). Łubowicki first signed his name "Jan Franciszek z Łubowic Łubowicki," and later, "Jan Franciszek na Łubowicach Łubowicki." After having examined several of his signatures on original documents (AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 5, folio 796r; AGAD, ASK IV, KR, MS 13, folio 1000r; and AGAD, ASK VI, KA, MS 5, folio 53r), I prefer to use Łubowicki rather than Lubowicki or Lubowidzki.

In 1643 Łubowicki acted as a royal secretary; in 1647 he held the office of dapifer of Ciechanów; in 1658 he titled himself starosta of Punie; in 1659, by being appointed the castellan of Chełm, he gained a seat in the senate; finally, in 1668 he subscribed the act of abdication of Jan Kazimierz as the castellan of Volhynia (see *Volumina Legum,* 4:74, 144, 584, 586, 1059.)

The account of Grądzki was accepted without reservation even by historians of high repute such as Ludwik Kubala and Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi. Kubala not only writes about "Stanisław Lubowicki," but also, for some inexplicable reason, about the cupbearer (*cześnik*) of Ciechanów. This is strange because Kubala cites a manifesto which was published in Warsaw on 9 June 1648 and bears the following signature: "Jan Franciszek na Łubowicach Łubowicki, Stolnik Ciechanowski" (Ossol., MS 189, p. 98 — printed copy). See Kubala, *Jerzy Ossoliński,* pp. 253, 446, fn. 27; and his *Wojna moskiewska r. 1654–1655* (Warsaw, 1910), p. 315. Hrushevs'kyi, whose work is characterized by painstaking accuracy for detail, also accepted the version of Grądzki (see his *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy,* 10 vols. [New York, 1954–58], 9, pt. 2:1132). Again, this is rather curious, because the instruction of 1656, which named Jan Franciszek Łubowicki as one of the four commissioners who were to seek a negotiated settlement with Khmel'nyts'kyi, was known to Hrushevs'kyi (see Instruction, Łańcut, 26 January 1656: *Sbornik statei i materialov po istorii Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii* [Kiev, 1911], pt. 1, pp. 25–28; original, fragment, in AGAD, AKW, Koz. 42, no. 63).

"Stanisław Lubowidzki" is listed in *Piśmiennictwo staropolskie,* in the series: *Bibliografia literatury polskiej, Nowy Korbut,* ed. Kazimierz Budzyk et al., 3 vols. (Warsaw, 1963–65), 2:232; in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny,* vol. 8 (Wrocław, Cracow and Warsaw, 1960), p. 561; and in *Wojna polsko-szwedzka 1655–1660,* ed. Jan Wimmer (Warsaw, 1973), p. 18. In this way, through the oversight of historians, "Stanisław Lubowicki" or "Lubowidzki" managed to live in the pages of history books for a considerable length of time. *Requiescat in pace!*

8 Ferdinand III sent them to Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi to mediate the conflict between the Commonwealth and the Ukraine. See the Introduction, fn. 14.

			sion by the City of Lviv). This last figure is part of the sum totaling 4,269 zł. 14 gr. 09d. See AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 54, folio 56v.
1657	Stanisław Kazimierz Bieniewski		
	First mission[9]	13,000 00 00	Ossol., MS 9532, p. 130.
	Second mission[10] } Third mission[11]	40,194 06 00	AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 54, folio 55r (40,000 zł.); AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 5, folio 709r (194 zł. 06. gr. spent on this mission by the City of Lviv). This last figure is part of the sum totaling 4,269 zł. 14 gr. 09 d. See AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 54, folio 56v.
1657	Krzysztof Słoniewski	3,028 03 00	AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 54, folio 55r (3,000 zł.). AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 5, folio 708r (28 zł. 03 gr. spent on this mission by the City of Lviv). This last figure is part of the sum totaling 4,269 zł. 14 gr. 09 d. See AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 54, folio 56v.
1657	Stefan Niemirycz	200 00 00	AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 54, folio 55v.
1657	Stefan Sokalski	446 19 00	AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 54, folio 55r (400 zł.). AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 5, folio 709r (46 zł. 19 gr. spent on this mission by

9 Instruction, Gdańsk, ca. January 1657; AGAD, MK, KP, MS 33, folios 99v–101r; *Zherela,* 12, pt. 5:420–22 (fragment).

10 Instruction, Danków, 13 June 1657; *Pamiatniki* (1), 3, pt. 3:153–60.

11 This sum covers the expenses of Bieniewski for approximately a fifteen-month period, from his departure from Poznań late in 1657 (see AGAD, AKW, Koz. 42, nos. 66–67), to his return trip from the Ukraine early in 1659 (see Joachim Jerlicz, *Latopisiec albo kroniczka Joachima Jerlicza,* ed. K. Wł. Wojcicki, 2 vols. [Warsaw, 1853], 2:16). A great deal of information about the diplomatic activity of Bieniewski is provided in the account of his secretary, Krzysztof Peretjatkowicz (see *Pamiatniki* [2], 3, pt. 3:341–55). Bieniewski's most important accomplishment was the conclusion of the Treaty of Hadiach (16 September 1658). (See *Volumina Legum,* 4:637–44; English translation: Pernal, "Polish Commonwealth and Ukraine," pp. 535–52.)

			the City of Lviv). This last figure is part of the sum totaling 4,269 zł. 14 gr. 09 d. See AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 54, folio 56v.
1657	Mikołaj Grzybowski	300 00 00	Ossol., MS 9532, p. 131.
1657	Daniel Jerzy Woronicz	200 00 00	Ossol., MS 9532, p. 131.
Total		132,409 13 00	

Table C
Diplomatic Missions Received from the Ukraine

Year	Envoys	Costs zł. gr. d.	Sources
1648	Fedir Veshniak Hryhorii Boldar Luk"ian Mozyra Ivan Petrushenko[1]	860 00 00	AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 6, folios 475v, 486v, 509r.
1649	Semen Zabus'kyi[2] Ias'ko Iasnobors'kyi Ivan Hanzha Dmytro Markovych Ivan Doroshenko Voitekh Hurs'kyi Prokip	2,816 00 00	AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 6, folio 540 v; AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 47, folio 87v.
1649	Maksym Nesterenko Ivan Krekhovets'kyi Ias'ko Voichenko Ivan Pereiaslavets[3]	1,592 00 00	AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 6, folio 540v; AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 47, folio 87v.
1650	Samiilo Zarudnyi Bohdan Peshta Hryts'ko	1,440 20 00	AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 6, folio 540v; AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 47, folio 87v.
1650	Vas'ko Tomylenko Fedir Drahyla	580 00 00	AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 6, folio 540v; AGAD,

1 The names of the members of the entourage are listed in *Księga pamiętnicza*, p. 74.
2 This was a delegation of Cossacks who defected from Khmel'nyts'kyi to the Commonwealth in 1648. The first six listed above were ennobled by the Diets of 1649–1650 and 1650; moreover, the first three were given commands of cavalry units in the Crown army. See *Volumina Legum*, 4:290, 337–38; Łucja Częścik, *Sejm warszawski w 1649/50 roku* (Wrocław, 1978), pp. 94–95, 139; and Jan Wimmer, "Materiały do zagadnienia organizacji i liczebności armii koronnej w latach 1648- 1655," *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 5 (1960):[498].
3 The names of two additional members, most likely belonging to the entourage, are given by Oświęcim, *Stanisława Oświęcima dyaryusz*, p. 211.

			ASK II, RS, MS 47, folio 87v.
1651	Extraordinary expenses of Mikołaj Potocki in negotiating the Treaty of Bila Tserkva	[9,530 00 00][4]	AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 6, folio 567v (total sum: 17,014 zł. 3 gr.); AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 48, folios 51v–52r (total sum: 17,014 zł.).
1652	Heras'ko Iatskevych Semen Nenartovych Mykhailo Taborenko Fedir Konel's'kyi Vasyl' Khomenko Andrii Lysovets	1,560 00 00	AGAD, ASK III, RNK, MS 6, folio 568r; AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 48, folio 52v.
1652	Semen Nenartovych Roman Katorzhnyi Iurii Bohdans'kyi	1,157 20 00	AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 50, folio 8r (the total sum of 1,257 zł. 20 gr. includes 100 zł. allotted to Wyżycki and Myśliszewski).
1652	Stanisław Wyżycki[5] Jan Myśliszewski	3,100 00 00	AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 50, folio 8r (Wyżycki, 3,000 zł.). AGAD, ASK IV, KR, MS 13, folios 254r, 321r (100 zł. for Wyżycki and Myśliszewski).
1653	Antin Zhdanovych Roman Letiazhenko Savko Skobienko Danylo	[600 00 00]	AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 51, folio 63r (total sum of 900 zł. also includes the "provision" of the Moldavian envoy).
1654	Makarii Krynyts'kyi[6]	300 00 00	AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 52, folio 20r.

[4] With regard to this estimated sum see Table B, fn. 6.

[5] These two men were not envoys of the Cossack hetman. They escorted Jan Jasiński, a servant of the banished former Crown Vice-Chancellor Hieronim Radziejowski, and presented to the Diet at its session of August 17 two intercepted letters which were addressed to Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi and Ivan Vyhovs'kyi. Writing from Stockholm, Radziejowski urged Khmel'nyts'kyi to establish contact with Queen Christina of Sweden since, he claimed, she was prepared to attack the Commonwealth. Radziejowski asked Vyhovs'kyi to induce Khmel'nyts'kyi to wage war with the Commonwealth. Wyżycki and Myśliszewski arrived in Warsaw together with the Cossack envoys (i.e., Nenartovych and others). See Radziwiłł, *Memoriale,* 4:260; and Władysław Czapliński, *Dwa sejmy w roku 1652: Studium z dziejów rozkładu Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej w XVII wieku* (Wrocław, 1955), 175–176. The editors of Radziwiłł's work (*Memorale,* 5:73) and Czapliński (*Dwa sejmy,* p. 175) both mistakenly refer to Wyżycki as Wysocki.

[6] He was sent to Warsaw by Sylvestr Kossov. See AGAD, ASK IV, KR, MS 13, folio 467r; and *LNA,* 8:150–52.

1656	Four Cossack envoys	[800 00 00]	Ossol., MS 9532, p. 124 (total sum of 1,376 zł. also includes the costs for "provisions" of the Muscovite envoy Fedor Tikhonov Zykov).
1658	Teodosii Tomkovych		
	First mission[7]	500 00 00	Ossol., MS 9532, p. 146.
	Second mission[8]	2,138 00 00	AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 54, folio 56r (1,190 zł.); AGAD, ASK 2, RP, MS 22, folio 32r (948 zł.). This last figure is included in the sum of 13, 787 zł. 06 gr. See AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 55, folio 63v.
1658	Pavlo Teteria-Morzhkovs'kyi Ivan Kovalevs'kyi Herasym Kaplon'skyi	9,689 00 00	AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 54, folio 56v (2,690 zł.); AGAD, ASK 2, RP, MS 22, folio 32r (6,999 zł.). This last figure is included in the sum of 13,787 zł. 06 gr. See AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 55, folio 63v.
1658	Vasyl' Kropyvnyts'kyi	990 00 00	AGAD, ASK 2, RP, MS 22, folio 32r (390 zł.); AGAD, ASK IV, KR, MS 14, folio 540r (600 zł.). Both of these figures are included in the sum of 13,787 zł. 06 gr. See AGAD, ASK II, RS, MS 55, folio 63v.
1658	Ivan Madzaraki Dorovych	550 00 00	AGAD, ASK 2, RP, MS 22, folio 32r (550 zł.). This figure is included in the sum of 13,787 zł. 06 gr. See AGAD. ASK II, RS, MS 55, folio 63v.
Total		38,203 10 00	
Totals of Tables B and C		170,612 23 00	

[7] Ivan Vyhovs'kyi to Stanisław Kazimierz Bieniewski, Chyhyryn, 9/[19] January 1658: *Pamiatniki* (1), 3, pt. 3:181–83.

[8] Ivan Vyhovs'kyi to Stanisław Kazimierz Bieniewski, Chyhyryn, 5/15 May 1658: *Pamiatniki* (1), 3, pt. 3:248–50.

REVIEWS

A PHONETIC DESCRIPTION OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE. By *Ivan Zilyns'kyj.* Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute Monograph Series. Cambridge, Mass.: 1979. 211 pp., map. $12.50, paperback.

The present work is a translation of the author's *Opis fonetyczny języka ukraińskiego,* published in 1932. The original was written long before phonetics developed into the exact science it is today. As a result, the book contains inexact formulations that were acceptable in the 1930s, but not in current scholarship.

Zilyns'kyj's work is based on a contradiction or an impossibility, depending on one's point of view. He informs us (p. 30) that there is no standard Ukrainian language nor a standard Ukrainian pronunciation, and then proceeds with a linguistic analysis. His method is to consider the sounds of the Ukrainian dialects and to describe how they differ from dialect to dialect. The result is a continuous mixing of phonetics and phonemics. The problem is compounded by Zilyns'kyj's inexactitude in expressing himself. He writes that "The sounds v-w-u̯ together form a single sound category, without precise internal delineation . . ." (p. 80). At first reading, this seems to mean that in the Ukrainian dialects it does not matter whether one pronounces a "v," a "w," or a "u̯," as these sounds are interchangeable, which is, of course, a statement no serious scholar would make. In the next pages, however, Zilyns'kyj specifies exactly where within a word in the various dialects these three sounds occur (pp. 81–83). The author knows his subject very well, of course, which leaves me still wondering what Zilyns'kyj actually meant in his first misleading statement.

In this book Zilyns'kyj is his own worst enemy, for he continually underrepresents himself. Particularly frustrating is his use of "some" dialects when it is clear that he knows the specific dialects he is referring to but is letting the reader infer that from the context (e.g., pp. 53 and 175); unfortunately, this is not always possible.

Here we have a self-effacing scholar with an impressive knowledge of the Ukrainian dialects who seems to be afraid to show the extent of his knowledge. Zilyns'kyj taught outside his native country, and one must assume that the political situation limited his opportunities to do fieldwork. In addition, many Ukrainian dialectal groups disappeared or were relocated during or after World War II (p. 4), resulting in a much simpler and less interesting dialectal structure of Ukrainian.

For this reviewer the book was a relic from the good old times—assuming that there were such—when scholars were not narrow specialists but had an encyclo-

pedic knowledge of their subject (and yet were still modest), and when linguistic phenomena could develop naturally, without interference from politics. Zilyns'kyj's work is valuable because of its wealth of dialectal material, most of it occurring unpretentiously in footnotes. It is regrettable that Zilyns'kyj described the sounds of Ukrainian out of context, that is, not in the structure of their dialects, but for the serious scholar that is not a great disadvantage. It might be advisable, however, to translate Zilyns'kyj's "Narys ukrains'koji dialektologiji" (Praci Ukrains'koho naukovoho instytutu, vol. 19); I did not have an opportunity to consult that work, but it may be that it represents the dialects as structures, rather than as series of unstructured sounds.

Zilyns'kyj's book contains much valuable material on Ukrainian dialects at a stage in their development when they were still relatively undisturbed by political events. It is easy to underestimate this work, as the author has not always chosen the most forceful way of presenting his ideas. The Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University is to be commended for having looked beyond the writer's stylistic deficiencies in its decision to publish his valuable study.

G. Koolemans Beynen
Ohio State University

SEJM WARSZAWSKI W 1649/50 ROKU. By *Łucja Częścik*. Wrocław, Warsaw, Cracow, Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1978. 171 pp. 40 zl.

The Khmel'nyts'kyi movement has received perhaps more attention from Ukrainian, Polish, and Russian historians than any other event in Ukrainian history. Certainly source publications on the period are numerous and voluminous. One major topic that has been insufficiently studied, however, is the history of the Commonwealth's Diets during the Khmel'nyts'kyi years. This oversight can be explained only by the underdeveloped state of source publication for the Diets and the difficulties of using dispersed manuscript materials.

The Diets' only official documents were their laws or "constitutions," issued at the end of each session. It was not until the eighteenth century that the Piarist Fathers collected all extant Diet constitutions and published them in the *Volumina legum*.

The proceedings of the Diets were not recorded as official minutes for an archive. The only sources for the course of the Diets are the notes or "diaries" (*diarjusze*) taken down by delegates or by secretaries. Some of the diaries are almost official, because they were commissioned by the Diet's officers or were reports to local dietines. Others were kept to convey information to absent relatives and friends. The important accounts by Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł in his

personal diary have also been classified as diaries of Diets. The number of diaries written or surviving for each Diet varies greatly. Most remain unpublished and are dispersed among the archival and library collections of Poland, the Soviet Union, Sweden, and neighboring states. Therefore the student of Polish parliamentarianism must search for accounts of the Diets in the massive amount of manuscript remains of the sixteenth to eighteenth century.

Since World War II, much work has been devoted to registering the diaries, but almost nothing has been done to edit and publish them. Study of the Diet as an institution has resulted in major works by Konstanty Grzybowski, *Teoria reprezentacji w Polsce epoki Odrodzenia* (Warsaw, 1959), and by Henryk Olszewski, *Sejm Rzeczypospolitej epoki oligarchii i Prawo, praktyka, teoria, programy* (Poznań, 1966). Study of individual Diets, particularly those of the seventeenth century, has been centered at Wrocław University under the guidance of Professor Władysław Czapliński. This has led to some progress in advancing our knowledge about the Diets during the Khmel'nyts'kyi years. Professor Czapliński's *Dwa sejmy w roku 1652* (Wrocław, 1955) is a major contribution to an analysis of the post-Bila Tserkva period. Łucja Częścik's monograph on the Diet of 1649/50 is another important contribution of the Wrocław historical center.

Almost all general works on the Khmel'nyts'kyi period describe the proceedings of the Diet on the basis of Polish-language diaries. The major service of Czapliński and his students to the history of the seventeenth century has been to focus attention on the German-language diaries kept for the inhabitants of Royal Prussia and the city of Gdańsk (Danzig). Two diaries for the Diet of 1649/50 extant in the Gdańsk collections are the core of Częścik's account of the proceedings.

Ms. Częścik demonstrates the success of the Court's policy in securing the Diet's ratification of the Agreement of Zboriv. She points to the financial difficulties of the army and the reluctance of the nobility to appropriate funds as the decisive factors in convincing a hostile nobility to ratify the agreement with the Cossacks. The key to the Court's success was the brilliant tactical maneuvering of Chancellor Jerzy Ossoliński, who convinced the delegates to depart from normal procedures. The student of Polish parliamentary history will find the description of the innovative procedures the most illuminating part of Ms. Częścik's book. The student of the Khmel'nyts'kyi period will profit most from Częścik's exposition of the paralysis of the Commonwealth, during which a Court faction, facing a powerful and discontented army, was able to manipulate a reluctant nobility into accepting a peace agreement that would permit a resurrection of Władysław IV's plan for a Turkish war. By limiting analysis to the proceedings of the Diet, however, Ms. Częścik adds little to our knowledge of relations between Khmel'nyts'kyi and the Court. Indeed, she does not even fully discuss the terms of the Agreement of Zboriv.

What little analysis Częścik does provide calls into question her grasp of the issues of the period. She professes to have made a major source "find" on Khmel'-

nyts'kyi's relations with John Casimir—a letter dated 1 January 1650 which was not included in Ivan Kryp"iakevych's and Ivan Butych's *Dokumenty Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho* (Kiev, 1961). Although the document that she quotes is a fascinating political tract cast as a letter from Khmel'nyts'kyi to John Casimir, Częścik errs grievously in assuming that it is what it purports to be. The "letter" is framed as Khmel'nyts'kyi's abject confession for his crimes and skulduggery. It includes lavish praise for Jeremi Wiśniowiecki, the leader of the militant anti-Cossack faction, and compromising material on Chancellor Ossoliński, the proponent of an accommodation between the Commonwealth and the Khmel'-nyts'kyi forces. Częścik attempts to explain Khmel'nyts'kyi's strange reversal of friend and foe by postulating that it was motivated by Khmel'nyts'kyi's realization that Wiśniowiecki as Hetman would become crucial in the king's plan for a war against the Ottomans. That the cunning Khmel'nyts'kyi would suddenly praise his enemy, Wiśniowiecki, is possible. Why, however, would he attack Ossoliński, the central figure promoting a moderate policy toward the Cossacks and the architect of the alliance against the Ottomans? Ms. Częścik has not shown that Khmel'nyts'-kyi had any cause to assume Ossoliński's power had weakened or that the king was about to throw him over in favor of Wiśniowiecki. Częścik's acceptance of so obvious a political tract as a document written by Khmel'nyts'kyi makes one wonder what other mistakes in source interpretation might have been made.

In using the sources Ms. Częścik overlooked some major items. She does not mention the multivolume source series published in the *Analecta OSBM*, Section 3, which in many cases has provided new material or better editions of Vatican documents. Also unmentioned is the account of negotiations over Eastern church affairs during the Diet, particularly over the position of the metropolitan, published by Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi in volume 9, part 2, of *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy* (Kiev, 1931), pp. 1505–1523.

Częścik's work is useful as an account of the Diet, but it is neither a thorough analysis of the issues that the Diet faced nor of the political situation of the time.

Frank E. Sysyn
Harvard University

NARYS ROZVYTKU I STANU VASYLIJANS'KOHO ČYNA XVII–XX STORIČČJA: TOPOHRAFIČNO-STATYSTYČNA ROZVIDKA. By *Michael Wawryk* (*Myxajlo Vavryk*), ČSVV. Rome: Vydavnyctvo 00. Vasylijan, 1979. xxiii + 217 pp., map. $12.00, paperback.

Michael Wawryk has published a major study of the development of the Basilian Monastic Order on the Ukrainian, Belorussian, and neighboring lands (Russia, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania) from its beginnings in the seventeenth century to the present day. On the basis of extensive docu-

mentation—for the most part previously unpublished—he analyzes data about the stands and attitudes of the Basilians at the crucial moments in Ukrainian and Belorussian history. Also, he lists the Basilian monasteries, usually with information about their founding and location. In each instance, his well-organized and meticulously researched monograph far surpasses the *Šematyzm* of Myxajlo Kossak (published in 1867).

Every section of this book is valuable—from the selected but comprehensive bibliography of the history of the Basilian Order and its monasteries (pp. xiii-xxiii); to the chapters about the situation of the order in the seventeenth century (pp. 1-14), in the first half (pp. 15-37) and second half (pp. 38-52) of the eighteenth century, in the nineteenth century (pp. 53-63), and in the twentieth century (pp. 64-71); to the detailed statistical summaries of the number of Basilian monks and monasteries throughout that time (pp. 72-75). Perhaps of most value to other scholars is the alphabetical list of the over 400 Basilian communities on the ethnographic territory of the Ukraine, Belorussia, and neighboring nations. The list is given in Ukrainian, Belorussian, Polish, and Latin (where necessary, the Lithuanian, Latvian, Slovakian, Hungarian, and Romanian forms are also used), with the dates of the communities' founding or entry into the order and, in some cases, withdrawal from it (pp. 185-209). The detailed map, by the foremost Ukrainian geographer Volodymyr Kubijovyč and the cartographer A. Žukovs'kyj, gives an accurate and precise location for each.

Wawryk has provided us with a factual and sympathetic account of the past of the Basilian Order, and his book will become a requisite secondary source for every historian of the religious life of the Ukraine and Belorussia. His book also serves as an excellent example of solid scholarship.

Ludomir Bieńkowski
The Catholic University of Lublin

RUSSIAN OFFICIALDOM: THE BUREAUCRATIZATION OF RUSSIAN SOCIETY FROM THE SEVENTEENTH TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. Edited by *Walter McKenzie Pintner* and *Don Karl Rowney*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1980. xviii + 396 pp. $20.00 hardcover; $12.00 paperback.

Our world is one of impersonal institutions operating in well-nigh automatic fashion by rules seemingly generated from the system itself. Hence comes our feeling that it is not particular individuals, but the sum total of members who are the decisive actors in the institutions' operation. To know the nature of this anonymous group of people seems tantamount, therefore, to having access to the reasons and causes of their actions. Leaving aside the question of whether this is possible in the case of contemporary political decisions, it is hard to conceive of

such simple causal connection when political institutions were smaller, their tasks quite different (less complex, but more numerous), and the society within which and upon which they operated much different from our own. To project the putative logic of today's institutional behavior onto the way similar, but surely not identical, government bodies operated in the past under different conditions seems a most questionable procedure. Furthermore, today's sociological, statistical, and political science methodology is formalistic to an extreme. The most general and abstract features of the "system" (or its members) are lifted from their concrete context and submitted to a variety of analytical and mathematical permutations in the expectation of explanatory results. That this approach may yield some insights into the operation of large institutions under conditions of long run stability and homogeneity cannot be gainsaid. But where the membership of an institution is small and changeable, their operations varied, and both purposes and objects of their activity constantly modified, while the society within which they operate is simpler than ours and more determined by individual and "traditional" behavioral norms, the exercise becomes questionable indeed.

Of course, this is not to deny that useful information is not to be garnered in the process, or that some impressions and observations may not find the semblance of "scientific" validation by dint of numerical and statistical illustrations. But the underlying purpose of the research—to discover causes and explanatory rules for political decisions over a period of time—is not achieved. After all, why bother to find out the social, demographic, economic, etc., characteristics of an institution's members if not in the belief that such characteristics provide an explanation for their behavior, decisions, or impact? To be sure, individuals (whether great or not so great) are not the cause of everything, either. But surely persons do make decisions and often behave independently of—nay, contrary to—their background, environment, or education; they do have at least a degree of freedom in overcoming these limitations. This may also be true, in limited fashion, for the subordinate members of an institution, as well as for its outstanding personalities. Have not a clerk's decisions or whims often upset the intentions of his superiors? Not every one of the many Akakii Akakievichs of imperial Russian officialdom (i.e., men of comparable age, background, wealth, education, etc.) were "non-performers"—*Leistungsverweiger,* as Böll puts it in his suggestive novel (*Gruppenbild mit Dame*) which vividly demonstrates the limits of the immanent features of an institutional system.

These methodological reflections are prompted by the essays which make up the volume under review.* Their high information value (as I pointed out elsewhere after reading the original typescript) is not to be gainsaid. Historians will

* Contents: B. Plavsic, "Seventeenth-Century Chanceries and Their Staffs"; R. O. Crummey, "The Origins of the Noble Official: The Boyar Elite, 1613–1689"; B. Meehan-Waters, "Social and Career Characteristics of the Administrative Elite, 1689–1761"; R. D. Givens, "Eighteenth-Century Nobiliary Career Patterns and Provincial Government"; B. W. Menning, "The Emergence of a Military-Administrative Elite in the Don Cossack Land, 1708–1836"; H. A. Bennett, "*Chiny, ordena,* and Official-

often turn to most of the articles to obtain concrete and statistical information on the social and economic features of specific groups in imperial Russia's administrative apparatus at various moments in its history. But they will hardly find an explanation for the policies pursued by the tsarist government, their failure or success. Parenthetically, the two chapters on the Soviet period, interesting as they may be in themselves, seem to be arbitrarily tacked on, as they only go to show the radical break of 1917 without adding to our understanding of the imperial bureaucracy (or resolving the question of historical continuity, for that matter).

The overall conclusion reached by most authors, and one stressed by the editors (despite presenting some evidence to the contrary), is that the basic sociological features of Russia's officialdom remained remarkably stable over practically two centuries of the imperial government's existence. Am I being too naive in asking why, then, the policies the officials pursued were so changeable, nay unstable, during the same period? Why did a group of men with similar socio-statistical characteristics initiate and endeavor to implement such diverse policies as those of Peter I, Catherine II (on the local level), Alexander I (on the level of central institutions), and Alexander II (in transforming Russian society altogether)? If similar (sociologically and statistically speaking) officials display different behavior, can their common features—interesting in themselves, as everything that pertains to man and his past is interesting—serve to explain their policies?

Daniel T. Orlovsky sees the problem very well: "To determine in what sense, if any, these administrators brought 'rationalization' to the ministry one must move beyond the information contained in personnel records and learn as much as possible about the ideas and labours of the men while members of the ministry staff" (p. 258). Yet neither he nor his fellow contributors tackle that problem. If we grant, for example, that wealth—which in Russia during most of the period studied meant ownership of land and serfs—was a determinant of an official's thought and action, is it not important to know the precise character of that wealth, e.g., in what regions did his estate lie, what kind of land was it, producing what kind of crops? Would not differences in these respects also affect the officials' perception of the reality on which they must act? Several authors point out that education was the element of Russian officialdom that underwent major change. But is it really sufficient to note whether it was secondary or higher education? Are not the specific contents of that education, the methods by which it was imparted, the books and texts that were read, and the nature of the student body and of the teaching staff more important than the mere number of years of formal schooling? What about the role of the family in forming basic character traits and cultural

---

dom"; W. M. Pintner, "The Evolution of Civil Officialdom, 1755–1855"; W. M. Pintner, "Civil Officialdom and the Nobility in the 1850s"; D. T. Orlovsky, "High Officials in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 1855–1881"; D. K. Rowney, "Organizational Change and Social Adaptation: The Pre-revolutionary Ministry of Internal Affairs"; S. Sternheimer, "Administration for Development: The Emerging Bureaucratic Elite, 1920–1930"; R. V. Daniels, "Evolution of Leadership Selection in the Central Committee, 1917–1927."

values that affect decisions and behavior? Some of the authors imply that we know what secondary education in nineteenth-century Russia was like. But do we? True, contemporary reports single out its deadening and routine nature, but this says nothing about its effectiveness in imparting a certain type of knowledge or in instilling certain attitudes. Today's experience shows that variety of subject matter and "progressive" pedagogical methods do not preclude the formation of unimaginative, narrow-minded executors of somebody else's will.

Much is made of the fact that the overwhelming majority of imperial officials were Russian (and nobles), although this is not surprising. But on the basis of the available documentation Russians are defined in terms of religion (Eastern Orthodoxy). Yet the Ukrainians and Belorussians were Orthodox too, and while their separate nationalities were not always acknowledged by the establishment (or even by themselves), their social, educational, and cultural background and experience were quite different. We also know from memoirs that the Ukrainians (and, to a lesser degree, the Belorussians) were tremendously important in shaping the Russian bureaucracy, especially in the formative eighteenth century, and that the traits which distinguished them from the Russians were expressed in their behavior and in their contribution to the imperial system. And what about the culturally "russified" Armenians, Georgians, and others?

Several of the contributors stress formal and external features that presumably are accessible to statistical manipulations (although I question the value of percentages for samples containing less than fifty or so members), yet seem unaware that the same, or similar, formal characteristics obtained among officials in the West, where policies differed greatly. Were, then, behavior and policies due to something other than these readily recognizable features—for example, social structures, culture, specific norms and values, history? The occasional comparisons with other, more Western, European countries are superficial and perfunctory. For example, why are references to the contrasting Prussian experience based exclusively on the superficial and polemical study by Hans Rosenberg, while the substantial and informative work of Otto Büsch and Otto Hintze is ignored? Legal training in Russia is compared to that in Germany, but unasked is whether in Russia law and codification—legal culture, in short—were truly comparable to the situation created in, say, Prussia by the *Allgemeine Landrecht* or in France by the *Code civil.*

All contributors to the volume agree that in order to make a judgment about the imperial government and system it is important to know how an institution operated, and how policies were devised and implemented. But no contributor actually describes the operations and procedures that would explain the behavior of the officials under study. No one explains in what *specific* manner the social, educational, and other characteristics that they have pinpointed determined the policies and procedures of their respective offices. Yet, is not the nature of an institution's concrete administrative tasks a most essential factor in its makeup and working? The imperial government's conceptions of its tasks changed over the two and a half centuries of its existence (to say nothing of those of the Soviet

regime!), and the question of who made the changes and why is most interesting. Naturally, some institutional traditions and patterns had to be developed to carry out these different tasks. To be sure, these operating procedures set limits, provided guidelines, and created expectations and goals for the officials involved. But the farther one goes in abstracting specific features of such patterns, the less relevant they become as an explanation of specific events and behavior. It may well be, as the first article persuasively argues, that pre-Petrine Russia had a well developed clerical staff which formally displayed greater professionalism, coherence, and stability than the staffs under Peter and his successors—but did the latter perform the same tasks, of the same scope and magnitude? To be sure, the existence of a clerical staff in Muscovy permitted Peter to undertake a thorough transformation with his well-known energy and brutality. With respect to the officials under Alexander II, the qualitative work of W. B. Lincoln on the enlightened bureaucrats under Nicholas I indirectly provides some sound explanation for their successful policies of reform. But the relevant chapter of this volume does not give a similarly convincing explanation of their successors' change of direction. We learn only that the major "objective" characteristics of the personnel did not change; these could not, therefore, have caused the turn to a conservative and repressive policy. One suggestion is that the preferences and personnel policies of one minister of the interior (P. A. Valuev) played the determinant role; perhaps so, but why bother, then, with demographic, statistical socio-economic factors?

Read by themselves, the majority of essays included in the volume are very interesting, indirectly illuminating important features of the empire's government (e.g., the role of personal relationships, clan solidarities, etc.—precisely those features least amenable to formalistic, statistical, and quantifiable presentation). They make the volume an essential reference source for useful factual material on imperial officialdom. Unfortunately, the self-imposed intellectual and methodological constraints limit considerably the collection's value as an explanatory and causal analysis of the Russian imperial system. The introductory and concluding chapters by the editors do not transcend the individual contributions nor offer new insights into the problematics of imperial Russian history. The editors' brief liminary introductions to each chapter seem to me superfluous and distracting, as they only repeat, or relate mechanically to other chapters, what the author says as well in his or her own words. Or are the editorial prefaces there to confine the reader in a deliberately narrow historical perspective and methodology?

Marc Raeff
Columbia University

POLISH SOCIETY UNDER GERMAN OCCUPATION: THE GENERALGOUVERNEMENT, 1939–1944. By *Jan Tomasz Gross.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979. 343 pp. $20.00

Jan Tomasz Gross has provided us with an extremely vivid and readable account of the salient and distinctive features that characterized Polish society during World War II. His work is a masterful blend of theoretical considerations and practical observations. Both sociologists and historians will find his work of immense value in considering the question of what happens to a people faced with the prospect of unlimited subjugation and the destruction of all recognizable forms of normative behavior.

Gross begins with an analysis of the German occupation of Poland. He carefully points out that the occupation's framework was far from monolithic. On the contrary, it tended to mirror the basic flaws that typified German rule at home and abroad. The feudal power structure, the lack of definitive spheres of authority, and the absence of a coherent colonial policy contributed to the random nature of Nazi exploitation. The effect on Polish society was devastating. According to Gross, the unpredictable nature of Nazi oppression and the Poles' inability to see any way in which their needs might be met under German rule contributed to the atomization of Polish society.

The response to what Gross describes as the formlessness and "normlessness" of Polish society was to create alternative forms of collective life that functioned outside the official structure of German authority. In his view the Polish underground was a social movement that enabled individuals not only to survive, but even more importantly, to acquire a sense of purpose and direction. Gross maintains that German authority never succeeded in legitimizing itself, and that the Polish underground managed to fill this authority vacuum through its own organized political, social, cultural, and economic activities. What developed was a democratic political entity that offered the potential for new forms of governmental organization in postwar Poland. But an analysis of why this particular alternative did not succeed lies outside the scope of Gross's work.

Still, the importance of this study cannot be overlooked. What Gross forces us to do is reexamine our assumptions about the underground in Poland and underground movements in general. The comprehensiveness of the Polish underground's multiple activities and their adoption of a "wait and see" attitude was the logical expression of the emergence of an "underground state." For this reason Gross views the resistance not merely as an exclusively political and military movement, but rather as an active body politic that counteracted the pressure for social disintegration during the occupation. By way of illustration he discusses the number of political factions that emerged within the underground, the variety of political

persuasions they professed, and the struggle for power that ensued within the ranks of the movement.

Gross's rational analysis challenges the assumptions of the romantic tradition of revolution and resistance in Polish history. The risks in such an approach, however, are immense, for a basic question remains: at what point does rational analysis become but yet another and misleading form of historical rationalization? For example, in facing an occupying power, when does party conflict devolve into useless political bickering? Of course, the answer depends largely on the degree to which the conflict can be considered constructive. Still, the obverse answer also applies. Excessive political factionalism may, indeed, have been counterproductive, particularly if political infighting detracted from a commitment to immediate and disruptive action against German troops and officials quartered in Poland.

Gross does not duck this central question. Quite to the contrary, he directly asks, "Does the interparty squabbling indicate irresponsibility on the part of the underground?" (p. 291) In his view, however, unequivocal condemnation is not warranted, for the answer is again one of degree. For Gross the underground acted as it should, for it considered the form of Poland's future political system to be one of its major responsibilities. It is, therefore, inaccurate and inappropriate to speak of fragmentation. On the contrary, in Gross's view the Polish case showed a healthy political pluralism, and the expanding democratization of Polish society was a sweeping and somewhat ironic result of German rule in Poland.

Gross also provides us with an important sketch of how the Ukrainian minority responded to German rule in Poland (pp. 186–195). Drawing almost exclusively from the works of Volodymyr Kubijovyč and John Armstrong, Gross paints a picture that would lead us to believe that the Ukrainian movement actually fared quite well under the Germans, particularly when compared to the lot of the Poles. He discusses the ways in which Ukrainian officials secured key positions within the German administrative structure, and he documents the dramatic increase in the number of Ukrainian schools and cooperatives during the war. He also traces the pattern of terror and mutual reprisals that characterized Polish-Ukrainian affairs during World War II, as both sides set out to settle old scores. There were those who spoke out against this course of action, and Gross faithfully cites the exemplary figure of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi as a case in point. It soon became obvious to the leaders of the Ukrainian national movement, particularly those who had advocated cooperation with the Germans, that such a policy was politically bankrupt. The Germans were not about to endorse the creation of a sovereign Ukrainian state; and the wartime dilemma of working toward a simultaneous German and Soviet defeat soon became apparent to the leaders of the nationalist movement. Nonetheless, Gross argues that the Ukrainian nationalists did make considerable progress toward preparing for the creation of an independent postwar Ukraine and establishing its territorial claims. It is for these reasons that Gross maintains that the concept of the "nationalist revolution" was essentially the preparatory phase for Ukrainian independence.

Other aspects of Gross's work deserve mention. His attempt in the book's final section to construct a mathematical formula describing the relationship between pressure applied from without and resistance generated from within any social system is truly fascinating, and will undoubtedly appeal to social scientists and systems theorists. His book also contains a number of valuable tables on population patterns, wages and prices, labor statistics, administrative appointments, and budgetary considerations. Of particular interest are the descriptions of how corruption and gossip operated as substitute mechanisms for the exchange of goods, services, and information within a society which, though under unprecedented economic and financial strain, refused to disintegrate. All in all, the reader will undoubtedly find Gross's work both fascinating and provocative.

Anthony R. DeLuca
Bradford College

VYBRANI TVORY/AUSGEWÄHLTE WERKE. By *Myxajl' Semenko/ Mychajl' Semenko*. Volume 1. Edited by *Leo Kriger*. Analecta Slavica, vol. 23. Würzburg: Jal-reprint, 1979. 256 pp. 80 DM, paperback.

This small and expensive volume will stand as an important milestone in modern Ukrainian literature. With its appearance, the poetry of the founder of Ukrainian Futurism, Myxajl' Semenko, becomes accessible to readers and scholars in a representative edition for the first time in half a century.

The edition is greatly enhanced by the introduction (in Russian) of the editor, Leo Kriger. Constituting almost half the volume, it is the most extensive and serious treatise on Semenko's poetry and career ever published. To appreciate this achievement fully, the reader should be aware of how much nonsense has been written about this poet over the past fifty years. Unfortunately, Kriger ignores the complex historical issue of why Semenko was rejected by Ukrainian criticism and scholarship, and thus fails to provide the reader with the background against which to evaluate his own achievement. Unlike the few Soviet attempts to rehabilitate Semenko, which always betray a strong ambivalence to Semenko's work and usually have an apologetic tone, Kriger has approached his subject without ambivalence or excuses, characterizing Semenko as "essentially a deep and tragic poet."

Kriger's introduction emphasizes Semenko's lyrical poetry and ignores, for the most part, his publicistic and polemical verse. This preference is reflected in the selection of poems that appear in the volume. Much attention is devoted to Semenko's early years (1914–1924). The period from the establishment of *Nova generacija* (1927) to Semenko's execution before a Soviet firing squad is treated more schematically, but nevertheless carefully and with skill.

Kriger succeeds in conveying the complexity and variety of Semenko's work. Subtly, without polemics, he undermines the old stereotype of Semenko as the poet idiot or clown. He proves conclusively that beyond the absurdity, game-

playing, and lampooning there was a very serious artist. In Semenko's work, Kriger argues, vulnerability and fear coexisted with a consciously cultivated pose of fearlessness and boldness—attitudes that Futurism required. Probing beneath the apparent superficiality of Semenko's poetry, he exposes a deeper psychological and existential layer. His brief but cogent summary of Semenko's theoretical views points out, rather provocatively, that the poet's ideas about literature and art bear certain similarities to today's structuralist and semiotic methods. In comparing Semenko with the Russian Futurists, Kriger argues—correctly, in my opinion—that Semenko's work differs from theirs in important ways.

The editor's familiarity with the sources, most of them obscure and virtually inaccessible, is admirable. The general reader, however, may be shortchanged by the total absence of footnotes. Kriger only occasionally cites a source in the text itself. The specialist is doubly frustrated because Kriger presents a number of new facts about Semenko's life without saying where the information comes from. Among these are the date of Semenko's arrest (26 April 1937); that in 1921 he was a member of a diplomatic mission to Latvia and that in 1922 he worked in the Ukrainian embassy in Moscow; that he was a good violinist who played in an orchestra in Vladivostok and even accompanied Les' Kurbas during a reading of "Hajdamaky"; that he was arrested twice (once by the Germans and once during the Denikin occupation); and that during the winter of 1917–1918, his fourteen-year-old brother Alexander died. Some of Kriger's biographical information has an intimate character. For example, he speaks of Semenko's divorce and second marriage, and gives the names of his children. In 1921, Kriger writes, Semenko and his first wife, Lidija Horenko, lived in a commune, along with the editorial staff of the Kiev newspaper *Visti.* At one point Kriger says that "Semenko was very gentle, good in life." While some of this information may have come from Semenko's autobiography (*Škval,* 1929, no. 21), which I have never seen, other information must have come from within the Soviet Ukraine. If this is true, Kriger's failure to document new information may be an effort to protect individuals there. This reminds us that Semenko and Ukrainian Futurism are politically sensitive topics, and that even the innocuous information Kriger provides is better left unattributed.

The volume's excellent introduction and the sensitive selection of poems are marred by some flaws. Considering the book's price, clearer reproduction of the poems and a more aesthetically pleasing layout should have been provided. The publisher seems to have scaled down the original project: in 1976 Jal announced the publication of Semenko's "Complete Works," but the present edition refers only to "Selected Works." Apparently, the publisher has had second thoughts about Semenko's rare theoretical essays, which were to have been included. Kriger's introduction mentions one of them as being part of this edition. But this volume contains only a selection, chronologically arranged, of Semenko's poetry from between 1910 and 1922; as such, it constitutes an abridged version of Semenko's *Kobzar* (1924), which encompassed precisely this period of the poet's creativity. We must hope that the theoretical essays will appear in a subsequent volume.

A needless complication in the Russian-language introduction is the haphazard inclusion of the original Ukrainian titles of Semenko's poems. Confusing, too, are the inconsistent Russian translations: e.g., "Iskusstvo perexodnoj pory" and "Iskusstvo perexodnoj èpoxi." Some titles appear partly in Russian and partly in Ukrainian: "Zustrič [vstreča] na perexresnij [perekrestnoj] stancii." Some readers may be misled by a typographical error which gives birth to a new Ukrainian poet (V. Oleško), whereas the poet was actually V. Aleško; similarly, M. Lebedynec' was not M. Lybedynec'. Kriger states (p. 68) that the article "Futuryzm v ukrajins'kij poeziji" appeared in *Mystectvo* (1919, no. 2), whereas it actually appeared in *Semafor u majbutnje* (1922). Also, there are several references in the introduction to Semenko's *trextomnik,* but nowhere is it explained that the referent is the 1929–1931 edition of his complete works.

Kriger makes two complimentary references to Jakiv Savčenko's review article in *Literaturno-krytyčnyj al'manax* (1918), which touched on questions of rhyme and rhythm in Semenko's poetry. I cannot share his enthusiasm, although admittedly Savčenko was the first critic to confront Semenko as a serious poet. Although Savčenko makes acceptable points about Semenko's rhymes, his comments on Semenko's rhythm are completely worthless, for he confuses such basic questions as the relationship of rhythm to meter, incorrectly assuming that the two are identical.

The editor admits to being puzzled by Semenko's satirical work, "Povema pro te jak povstav svit i zahynuv Myxajl' Semenko," especially by the word "Povema" in the title. He explains it as referring to a line in the Psalm of David: "Komu povem pečal' svoju." But "povema" is, in fact, a neologism, a combination of the words "povist'" and "poema," which Semenko and O. Poltorac'kyj used to designate a synthetic new epic genre (cf. *Nova generacija,* 1929, no. 5, p. 77).

Another statement to which objection can be raised is Kriger's claim that Mykola Bažan "took to the path of Socialist Realism" in 1927. Bažan did not have Socialist Realist tendencies at that early date, and the charge even contradicts Kriger's own statement that "at the same time he [Bažan] idealized the national past and canonical forms." Nor can one agree with Kriger's statement that as editor of *Nova generacija,* Semenko maintained "close contacts" (*tesnye svjazi*) with Majakovskij and LEF (Levyj front iskusstva). To be sure, contacts existed, but these can hardly be characterized as "close." For the most part LEF ignored *Nova generacija,* while the latter often voiced strong objections to LEF's positions and continually stressed its independence.

These reservations notwithstanding, Leo Kriger has made a substantial contribution to our nascent knowledge of Semenko and Ukrainian Futurism. Like any pioneering effort, it has shortcomings but, on the whole, the edition is remarkably accurate and reliable. Its continuation in other volumes can only be encouraged and eagerly anticipated.

Oleh S. Ilnytzkyj
University of Manitoba